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P R E F A C E.

THE present volume is the twenty-second published by the Society issued during the twenty-five years of its existence. It is remarkable for the long period of time covered by the various articles which it contains. A map of Yorkshire as it was about A.D. 120—a distinctly early date—is followed by articles on Roman coins, Northumbrian history, and Anglian crosses until we reach the Leeds White Cloth Hall of 1775.

The volume contains scholarly articles by the Dean of Lichfield and Professor Collingwood on the Anglo-Saxon period of history, which are alike remarkable for the deductions drawn from the examples and quotations made use of. The map of Yorkshire in A.D. 120, referred to above, is an achievement which could be scarcely thought possible, and which perhaps may challenge criticism; but Mr. Ellis takes much interest in this matter, which he worked out many years ago in his youth, and to which he has since given much attention. The large find of Roman coins at Bramley has been carefully described by Mr. Pickersgill, and he vouches for the correctness of the inscriptions, notwithstanding that the readings are occasionally somewhat unusual.

Four charters of Arthington Nunnery are well described by the practised hand of Mr. Lancaster, while the Barwick-in-Elmet deeds and the Leeds and district Wills are the experienced work of Mr. R. B. Cook.

The clothing trade in Leeds is ably dealt with by Mr. Heaton, who has devoted much time and energy to its history as a special subject of research.

Eighteenth century Leeds has also been treated of in the "Bitterzwickg Poems" and the extracts from the *Leeds Mercury*; and the seventeenth century by the Minute Book of the Pious Use Trustees, the Subsidy Rolls, and other articles.

The thanks of the Society are due to the various contributors; also to Mr. Jesse A. Myers and to Mr. James Singleton for kindly preparing the indexes.

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ERRATA.

Page 44, line 26. *For "Saul" read "Gaul."*

Vol. xv, p. 38, line 4. *For "1588" read "1598."*

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Northumbria after the departure of the Roman forces.¹

BY THE VERY REV. H. E. SAVAGE, D.D.

I. THE PROBLEM.

Britain was finally abandoned by the Romans in 410 A.D. There was then a settled, and fairly prosperous, Celtic population in possession of the land. Large districts of the country had been brought under cultivation. Half a century earlier, when the people in the Rhine valley were on the verge of starvation through the constant ravages of war, the Emperor Julian, being then in command in Gaul, caused a fleet of ships to be built, and brought over a supply of corn from Britain to relieve the distress.² Roman culture, indeed, in its fulness had not spread beyond the towns to any great extent; but in all localities which were free from forest, and therefore more thickly populated, evidences are found of a general adoption of Roman civilisation and ideas; especially in the neighbourhood of the large country 'villas.'³ And certainly by the middle of the fourth century, if not earlier, Christianity had spread everywhere. The Church was thoroughly established and organised; as is shown not only by the attendance of British Bishops at the Councils of Arles in 314, and Ariminum in 359; nor by references in late fourth century writers, such as Athanasius, Jerome, Victricius of Rouen, Chrysostom, Salpicius Severus⁴; but more directly by the actual remains of Christian art of this period which have come to light.⁵ The whole picture presented is of a civilised, well-ordered, and Christian people.

¹ Given (in substance) as a lecture before the Philosophical and Literary Society, Leeds, on 19 Nov., 1912.

² Zosimus, lib. iii.

³ Cp. *Cambridge Medieval History*, i, p. 376.

⁴ The references are quoted in Bright's *Early English Church History*, pp. 12, 13.

⁵ See Prof. Haverfield's paper on "Early English Christianity," in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1896, vol. xi, pp. 419-427. Cp. *Camb. Med. Hist.*, i, 614: "All these mosaics probably date from about 350, when the Church must have been a recognised institution in every city."

But after the departure of the last Roman forces from Britain a veil falls on the history of the country, which is only lifted very partially, and at long intervals, for two full centuries. And when at last the connected story of the land comes to light again, with the accession of King Edwin in 617, all the features are found to be radically changed. By that time the whole of the eastern and southern portions of the land were under the domination of the Anglo-Saxons, who had brought with them their own laws and customs, their own language, and their own religion. Very few of them had as yet been converted to Christianity; and those only through the influence of foreign missionaries. Those Britons who had preserved their national organisation had been forced back to the west, where they lived a broken life in the hill districts, and in the deep forests of the Midlands; and the feud was naturally intense between them and their invaders: while the remnant of the original population was subordinate to, or absorbed by, the new race. The transformation, if not complete, was very widespread. All the more fertile tracts, in which the spoils of the former civilisation were richest, had passed into the possession of the conquerors. But of the process of events by which this occupation of the country by the Teutonic tribes had been achieved little or nothing is recorded in detail. There is a singular dearth of authenticated historical data. It is a tantalising blank. With regard to the period in question historians are reduced almost to despair.

And the veil hangs most closely over Northumbria. For the very few Celtic authorities, such as they are, that are available for these two centuries, were associated with the West and the South; and therefore the North was mostly beyond the range of their knowledge, and of their interest. There are, however, some leading aspects of the long struggle which stand out as assured facts; and which are sufficient to give a general view of the situation.

2. THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

But, first, it may be as well to state briefly what the original sources of information are, on which the medieval Chroniclers were obliged to depend no less than ourselves for a record of what took place in Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries.

(i) The earliest is the *Life of Germanus*, Bishop of Auxerre, by Constantius of Lyons, written about 488 A.D. This contains the story of the two visits of Germanus to Britain, as the champion of orthodoxy, in the years 429 and 447.¹

(ii) Next comes Gildas, *De excidio Britanniae*, written about 545 A.D. This is, for the most part, a wild and hysterical jeremiad. In the earlier pages of his book, where his statements can be compared with known facts, Gildas is found to be obviously inaccurate in details. For instance, he represents the stone wall from sea to sea as having been built after the Romans had abandoned Britain.² But for a general picture of the plight of the Britons under the successive incursions of the Saxons he is substantially the best authority. Living, however, in the West himself, his outlook is entirely confined to that side of Britain. He has nothing to say about the East or the North.

(iii) The *Historia Brittonum* was originally composed about 690 A.D., as appears from the latest names in the appended genealogies, and from the reference to the death of Cuthbert (in 687). It was worked over, with additions from other sources, in 858 A.D., by Nennius, under whose name it is frequently quoted.³

(iv) The *Poems of the British Bards*,⁴ Talhearn, Aneirin, Taliessin, Bluchbard, and Cian (mentioned in the *Historia Brittonum*, § 62), and Merddyn, go back to the sixth century. But it is uncertain how far these poems, in their present form, have been interpolated at a later date. As Professor Oman says⁵: "Historians still await a satisfactory estimate of the exact worth of these poems from a competent critic, who must be at once a Celtic philologist and a sound historian."

(v) The Welsh *Triads* were collected in the twelfth and following centuries. They are compressed into a mnemonic

¹ This *Life* is printed in *De probatis Sanctorum Historiis . . . per F. Laurentium Surium Carthusianum*, vol. iv, pp. 405 *sqq.*

² § 18.

³ A convenient edition both of Gildas, and of the *Historia Brittonum*, showing the 'Additamenta Nennii' in a separate column, has been published by Mommsen in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. iii, fasc. i. Berlin, 1894.

⁴ Published in *Myvyrian Archaiology*, 1801-7: republished 1870. See a brief account of these Bards in Morrice, *Manual of Welsh Literature*, ch. i. Bangor, 1909.

⁵ *England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 212.

system of *Threes*,¹ whence their name. The artificial form of these records, and the late date of their appearance, make their trustworthiness very suspicious. But they contain many traditional memories: and local traditions are very tenacious.

The last four sources mentioned are all Celtic. Besides these there are also the two primary Anglo-Saxon authorities:—

(vi) Baeda, whose *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* was completed in 731 A.D. This is, of course, an invaluable mine of information. But, as its title and its provenance alike manifest, it is written emphatically from the Anglian point of view.

(vii) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the earlier part of which was compiled by the order of King Alfred, some time before 891 A.D.² During the forty years of his reign, 851 to 891, it bears all the characteristics of a contemporary record; while both before and after that period the entries in it are of quite a different type.³

There is thus singularly little documentary evidence for the history of Britain between 410 and 617 A.D., and what there is needs most careful sifting before it can be used with confidence. Enough, however, remains, when it has been closely examined, to furnish a framework that may be filled in, in some respects, from traditions and other sources.

3. THE CHRONOLOGY.

But the student is again confronted with a further difficulty, which, however, proves to be not quite so serious for practical purposes as at first sight it appears to be; and that is the complete ignorance which exists as to the method, or methods, in vogue during this period for recording the dates of events. The only point that is certain is that it was not by the 'Anno Domini' system. For that mode of computation is due to Dionysius Exiguus,⁴ an Abbot of Rome, and was published in

¹ Cp. the Jewish Apocalyptic *Book of Jubilees*, written in the early years of the first century A.D., which forces the O.T. Chronology into equal periods of forty-nine years each. Dr. Lappenberg, *Hist. of Eng. under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, E.T., vol. i, p. xxix, draws attention to the frequent recurrence of trilogies in the *Historia Brittonum*.

² Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest*, pp. 187, 444.

³ Stevenson, Introduction in *Church Historians of England*, vol. ii, part 1, p. xiv.

⁴ He did not devise it himself, but borrowed it from Victorius of Aquitaine, who lived a hundred years earlier. See *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, i, 853.

527 A.D.; and it was not generally adopted in Britain until the time of Baeda, in the earlier years of the eighth century.¹ And it was a hundred years later before it was ordered by authority to be employed universally. This was enacted by a decree of the Council of Chelsea, in 816 A.D.

There is no direct evidence to show how the years were identified in Britain before this plan came into use. It cannot have been by the method which prevailed in other European countries, of the rather cumbrous calculation by 'Indictions': for the country was virtually cut off from regular communication with the Continent. Nor, again, can it have been by the regnal years of kings, which in Spain,² for instance, were added to the Indictions: for there was no regular succession of recognised sovereigns.

In the case of the Britons no doubt, so long as they were able to keep in touch with the Roman empire, they would continue to indicate the year by the name of the Consul, or Consuls, in office. There is possibly a slight confirmation of this supposition in the appeal which is recorded by Gildas as having been addressed to Aetius,³ "now for the third time Consul"—that is, in 446 A.D. But after that no systematic means of identifying dates is traceable in the British records.

It is clear, on the other hand, that the Teutonic invaders cannot have adopted any process of reckoning that originated within the Roman empire, with which their only contact was in war. That they had some way of marking dates is certain; but what it was there is no evidence to show. "Of the time-reckoning of the Anglo-Saxons," says Mr. Thorpe,⁴ "prior to the introduction of Christianity in the year 597, we know nothing." The frequent recurrence of eight, or a multiple of eight, years in the legends of the Æscings of Kent led Dr. Lappenberg⁵ to conjecture that their traditions were memorised

¹ The earliest instance of its use in England is apparently in a charter of Osric, sub-King of the Hwiccas, in 676 A.D.; *Cod. Dipl.*, No. xii. See Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*, p. xx.

² Cp. the monumental inscription copied by Ruinart in his edition of Gregory of Tours, Migne's *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. lxxi, col. 301.

³ Gildas, indeed (§ 20), gives the name as Agitius; but Baeda, in quoting the passage (i, 13), corrects it to Aetius.

⁴ *Dipl. Angl. Ævi Sax.*, pp. xix, xx.

⁵ Vol. i, pp. 74-78. He even suggests that they used an octonary numeral system; p. 82.

in some sort of a cycle of eight years. But even this suggestion appears to be doubtful.¹

Be this however as it may, for practical purposes it is of little moment what their mode of calculation actually was. For when their memorials came to be incorporated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the ninth century, and it was necessary to transmute their dates into the A.D. schedule, their system of computation was evidently well understood. For the Chronicle records two eclipses of the sun, in 538 and in 540 A.D.; and these dates prove to be astronomically correct.² It is therefore possible to work from the fixed dates in the Chronicle, with substantial accuracy.

4. THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMAN FORCES FROM BRITAIN.

The withdrawal of troops from Britain at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth was due to the operation of two distinct causes.

(1) The continual personal conflicts for the imperial purple in the western part of the Roman empire tended more and more to place the power of nomination in the hands of the army. A general who was successful in war, and popular with his men, possessed the strongest means of gratifying his ambition. But in order to overthrow his rivals in the miserable scramble for supreme authority, he was driven to divert the whole strength of his army from its proper use in the defence of the empire, and employ it in furthering his own designs by attacking the forces of his opponents.

(2) The inevitable result of this constant drain upon the military resources of the empire was that the frontiers were left without adequate protection against the incursions of the swarming hordes of wild tribes that were eagerly pressing westward from the east side of Europe, tempted by the rich spoils of the civilised lands. Consequently it became necessary from time to time to concentrate all the available troops in order to repel those invasions which immediately threatened the vital points towards the centre of the State. And therefore the garrisons were recalled from the farthest outposts of the empire; and when these distant provinces in their turn appealed for

¹ See Guest's paper on "The early English settlements in South Britain," *Proc. Arch. Inst.*, 1849 (Salisbury vol.), p. 40.

² Lappenberg, vol. i, p. xlii.

aid against marauders, none could be spared for their need ; and no course was left open but to abandon them.

Both these reasons had their part in the withdrawal of the trained Roman soldiery from Britain. There were three principal occasions in this process.

(i) In 383 A.D. Magnus Clemens Maximus, a Spaniard, who had served in Britain under Theodosius in his campaign fifteen years before,¹ won a signal victory over the Picts and the Scots. The army in Britain thereupon proclaimed him Emperor ; and he forthwith crossed the channel to attack Gratian, taking with him the corps that had served under him. For five years they followed his standard, until he was defeated by Theodosius, and slain, at Aquileia in Italy ; and few, if any, of his men returned to Britain.²

(ii) Nearly twenty years later, in 402 A.D., Stilicho moved a legion from Britain to strengthen the force which he was collecting to oppose the advance of Alaric and the Visigoths. This was probably the Legio VI Victrix, which had been stationed in the North, with its headquarters at Eburacum (York), ever since the time of Hadrian, who had brought it over with him from the Rhine in 120 A.D.³ For Claudian speaks of it as the legion which had been the shield of the provinces of Britain against the Scots and the Picts.⁴ Serious, however, as the loss was that was involved in the removal of this legion, especially in the North, it was in great measure compensated for by the thorough military reorganisation which Stilicho had recently carried out in Britain ; and which is described in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. For this list was drawn up about 401 A.D., and therefore represents the military and civil administration of the country as it was ordered under his auspices.

(iii) Only three more years had elapsed when Constantine III, himself a Briton, was put forward as Emperor by the local army, apparently because the Britons considered themselves neglected by the existing authorities.⁵ In the previous twelve

¹ Zosimus, lib. iv.

² For Maximus, cp. *Camb. Med. Hist.*, i, 238-243 ; Oman, pp. 165, 166.

³ See Oman, p. 110.

⁴ *De bello Getico*, 416-418 :

Venit et extremis legio praetenta Britannis,
Quae Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exsanguis Picto moriente figuras.

⁵ See Oman, p. 175.

months they had elected two other usurpers, Marcus and Gratian, both of whom were assassinated almost immediately. When Constantine crossed to the Continent to try his fortunes, he swept off with him all the best of the troops that he could muster, including, it would seem, the Legio II Augusta, which had garrisoned successively first the South-west and then the South-east for nearly three centuries. When he fell, in 411, the remains of his army were not sent back to Britain, but were absorbed in the extensive British settlement which already existed in Armorica, north of the Loire.

In 410 the Britons abandoned the cause of Constantine, and appealed to Honorius for assistance against the Saxons, who had fiercely attacked the southern shores. He, however, was unable to do anything for them, but wrote to them bidding them defend themselves.¹ This they did with good effect, for Zosimus tells how "they took up arms, and freed their cities from the oppression of the barbarians." But at the same time they expelled the imperial officials, who had been left in power by Constantine,² and set up some sort of provisional Government of their own.

Thus the Britons lost the protection of the Roman troops chiefly through the ambitions of usurping Emperors; but in part also through the necessity of strengthening the defence of the State against invaders in other quarters; and eventually they found that, in the general turmoil of the times, they could no longer, as before, receive support from the central government in their own crises.

5. THE CONDITION OF BRITAIN AFTER 410 A.D.

For three centuries and more the Roman immigrants and the native Britons had lived together under one system of government. The imported legionaries and auxiliary cohorts and the native forces had fought side by side against their common foes, the Scots and the Picts and the Saxons. Their patriotism had grown into one common bond. The time-expired soldiers had made their permanent home in the land, and foreign traders had come and settled here. Many leading British families had become thoroughly Romanised; of which evidence is seen in the Latin names which their representatives bore—such as Magnentius, Gratianus, Ambrosius Aurelianus, and the like.

¹ Zosimus, lib. vi.

² See below, p. 11.

Moreover in the fourth century Britain had been at the highest point of prosperity; and this had cemented the union of the different elements in the population. So Professor Oman writes:¹ "Archæological and literary evidence join in suggesting that the period between the fall of Allectus [296 A.D.] and the middle of the fourth century was probably the most prosperous epoch which the British provinces ever knew"; and he adds some interesting particulars; *e.g.* "Constantius collected masons and artisans for the rebuilding of the Gallic Autun in Britain, 'quibus illae provinciae redundabant.'" Indeed nothing could be farther from the truth than the idea that the Britons were downtrodden under the Roman empire, especially in the later years of its sway over the country.² But the whole organisation of the land was rudely broken when the strong arm of the Roman troops was withdrawn.

(a) The *Military* administration of Britain by the Imperial Government, which had been established for three-quarters of a century under Constantine's remodelling of Diocletian's system, placed the army under the command of three superior officers. The highest in rank of these was the 'Comes Britanniarum,' who, acting in some respects as the Commander-in-Chief, had under him a small movable force, largely composed of cavalry, with which he could hasten readily to the support of any threatened position. By far the greater proportion of the troops, however, was under the 'Dux Britanniarum,' who was stationed in the North, with headquarters at Eburacum. The third separate command was that of the 'Comes Littoris Saxonici,' who was responsible for the fleet, and for the castles and garrisons along the shore from Branodunum (on the Wash) to Portus Adurni (on the Solent). He had also the disposal of the Legio II Augusta, which had been removed from Isca Silurum (in South Wales) to Rutupiae (Richborough, in Kent).³ It was a well-planned disposition to repel invasion by land or by sea.

But after Constantine III had withdrawn the bulk of the army in 407, this careful organisation fell to pieces. There is no mention after that date of any effective navy. The

¹ p. 153.

² Cp. Prof. Haverfield, in *Camb. Med. Hist.*, i, 379; "The old idea that Britons and Romans were still two distinct and hostile racial elements has, of course, been long abandoned by all competent inquirers."

³ See Oman, pp. 150, 169.

Teutonic tribes from across the water apparently found no real barrier to meet them on the high seas; for the counter-attacks, though they were evidently vigorous and determined, were delivered after the corsairs had descended on the coast, and had pushed their way some distance inland. Again, there was no General to answer to the former 'Comes Britanniarum.' Indeed it was not possible that there should be any supreme officer of the kind on guard: for there was no central authority that could maintain a movable relief force to be hurried in any direction where prompt assistance was required. Nor was there any succession of leaders of sufficient prominence to attract a national following to their standards.

In the third case, however, the evidence, slight as it is, seems to show that the title of the 'Dux Britanniarum' was still kept alive; or at all events that it was revived from time to time when any exceptional commander came to the front. Professor Rhys points out "that those who seem to have succeeded to supreme power when the Romans left are always styled in Welsh *Gwledig* [that is the term used to translate 'Dux'], instead of being described by any title signifying emperor or the familiar office of a king."¹ It is used, for instance, of Coroticus in the fifth century.² The *Historia Brittonum*, indeed, in a passage which is sometimes quoted in this connexion, speaks of Arthur as "Dux bellorum"; but the term there is apparently not used as a title in an official sense, but simply as describing the special leadership accorded to him by the kings who shared in his expeditions.³ Baeda describes Ceadualla as "Brettonum dux"; though in the same chapter he also refers to him as "rex Brettonum."⁴ And Cunedda is said to have worn the badge of the 'Dux Britanniarum,' a gold belt.⁵ Cunedda and Ceadualla, it may be observed, both represent the North of Britain. And it is clear that the North was preserved immune from any settlement of foreigners for a considerable period. So that it may reasonably be inferred that in the district which had formerly been under the command of

¹ *Celtic Britain*, p. 103.

² Oman, pp. 191, 239. For Coroticus see below, p. 14.

³ § 56. "Tunc Arthur pugnabat contra illos cum regibus Brittonum, sed ipse dux erat bellorum."

⁴ iii, 1.

⁵ Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 117. For Cunedda see below, p. 13.

the Dux Britanniarum, the prestige of that office lived on, and some regular military formation was maintained, longer than in other parts of the country.

(b) The *Civil* constitution also lost its central co-ordinating authority, which had secured unity of administration. Under the Romans Britain, in all non-military matters, was ruled by a civilian 'Vicar,' or Governor-General. Subordinate Governors were placed over the four provinces into which the country was divided: a 'Consularis' in Maxima Caesariensis, and 'Praesides' in the three others.¹ But when Honorius found himself unable to respond to the appeal for support in 410, these officials disappeared. According to Zosimus² they were expelled by the Britons; perhaps as having been the nominees of Constantine III; and no successors to them were ever appointed. It is significant that Honorius addressed his rescript not to the Vicar or the Praesides, but to the 'cities' themselves.³ From that time each 'civitas,' with its attached 'territory,' became an area of independent self-government. The references, however, in the *Life of Germanus* to the two officials with whom he came in contact during his first and second visits to Britain are too vague to afford any indication of the actual constitution which was in force. They are merely described as "quidam tribuniciae potestatis," or as "regionis illius primus," respectively.⁴ And these are indefinite terms which might as naturally have been used before as after the disappearance of the Roman Praesides.

The principal administrative centres had been from the first established in the old British pre-Roman towns: so that the continuity of traditional associations had been carefully preserved. This principle alone seems to account for the position assigned to Eburacum, for instance; which was to some extent inconveniently placed for the military headquarters of the North, in that it lies several miles to the east of the important military road that runs directly northwards to the wall.

The country, though harassed by foes from beyond its borders, was 'at unity in itself.' There is no indication for some time after 410 of local feuds or of intertribal wars between

¹ Oman, p. 150.

² Lib. vi.

³ Zosimus, lib. vi.

⁴ Const. i, 24; ii, 3: quoted by Baeda, i, 18, and i, 21.

the various sections of the Celtic population.¹ The excellent system of roads from end to end of the land made communication easy. Commerce brought even widely-separated districts into touch with each other. Above all, Christianity had consolidated the common life of the nation. The incident of the special visit of Bishop Germanus in 429 to deal with the spread of Pelagianism is strong evidence for this. A well-developed agriculture, and the mining of metals, furnished the chief elements of self-support. In fact it was the very richness of the British provinces that attracted invaders. The one thing, however, that was lacking was an adequate military force to protect the prosperity that had been fully enjoyed half a century before, and that seemed still to be within reach. It was the depletion of the standing army, and the decentralisation of the government, that checked the growth of civilisation, and led eventually to the disintegration of the Celtic population. For the country was laid open to sectional attacks by its enemies, which, though stubbornly resisted, at length drove back the Britons step by step from the richer plains, to find their last refuge in the forests and the hills.

6. THE FORMATION OF SEPARATE KINGDOMS.

When Honorius sent his message to the 'cities' of Britain that they must defend themselves, the Roman Governors had only just departed. There were clearly no native kings then (except possibly in the extreme West). But when Gildas wrote his wail over the country a hundred and thirty-five years, or more than four generations, later, in 545, the different districts were apparently under the sway of petty kings. "*Reges habet Britannia, sed tyrannos:*"² so he begins his description of the state of affairs in his own day. And he proceeds³ to inveigh, in no measured terms, against five of these kings by name:—Constantinus of Damnonia (in the South-west); Aurelius Caninus (Kynan); Vortiporius (Guortepir); Cuneglasus (Cinglas, or

¹ The phrase of Gildas (§ 19), writing of the Pictish invasion in the North some time before the appeal to Aetius in 446, "*et augebantur externa clades domesticis motibus,*" if a real record, and not merely a rhetorical period, at the most can only refer to food riots; for he adds, as the reason of the disturbances, "*quod huiusmodi tam crebris direptionibus vacuaretur omnis regio totius cibi baculo, excepto venatoriae artis solacio.*" It is not till half a century later that civil wars are mentioned by him: "*cessantibus licet externis bellis, sed non civilibus.*" § 26.

² § 27.

³ §§ 28 *sqq.*

Cynlas); and Maglocunus (Maelgwyn), all of whom seem to have reigned in the West.¹ But long before his day, as early as the end of the fourth century, that is to say even before the departure of the Romans, a British King, Cunedda,² had held sway in the far north beyond the wall. It was he who at the head of a British army had descended upon the Scots "in regione Guenedotae"³ (North Wales), and driven them out, about the year 400; and his descendants maintained a dynasty in Wales through several generations. Cunedda belonged to an old Roman British family: for his father's name was Aeternus; his grandfather's, Paternus; and his great-grandfather's, Tacitus. His own Celtic name perhaps indicates a growing self-assertion on the part of the British natives as the Roman hold on the country became more and more relaxed. And the rally of British forces to the succour of their compatriots points in the same direction. The Welsh traditions speak of Cunedda as holding his court at Carlisle, and maintaining a patrol of 900 cavalry along the line of the wall to the east coast.⁴

But in the central and eastern parts of Britain there were no kingdoms as in the North, and perhaps in the West. No trace of any regal constitution appears in the story of the first visit of Bishop Germanus in 429; though it shows that the British hold on the South-east was still intact. For the public controversy between Germanus and the Pelagians was held apparently at Verulamium (St. Albans), where as soon as the dispute was settled the foreign delegates visited St. Alban's tomb.⁵ Twenty years later, however, there seems to have been a royal regimen even in the South-east. For there can be little doubt that there is at all events a residuum of historical fact in the story of Vortigern, whatever may be thought of the details of the narrative. The *Historia Brittonum* states that Vortigern "reigned in Britain" at the time when Hors and Hengist arrived with their three "keels" (ciulae)⁶; and that

¹ See Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 106, 120, 121.

² Cunedag, *Hist. Br.*, 62.

³ *Hist. Br.*, 62.

⁴ Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 117.

⁵ Constantius, i, 25.

⁶ Ducange, *s.v. Ceola*. "Vocis usus manet etiamnum apud Anglos in *Keele*, pro carina." These ships were of considerable size. Cp. Ransome, *An Advanced History of England*, p. 21: "Some years ago, one of their war canoes was dug up in a bog in Sleswick, and was found to be 61 feet long, 9 feet broad, propelled by 24 oars, and capable of carrying 120 men."

he welcomed them, and assigned them the island of Thanet for their settlement¹; implying that his authority extended as far as the south-east coast. But from that time onwards there is little or no reference to any British kingdom in the centre or east of the land; though the *Historia Brittonum* refers to a dynasty of the descendants of Vortigern as reigning in two districts, 'Buel't' and 'Guorthegirniaun,' wherever they may have been. And it also, in the same passage, alludes to Ambrosius as a kind of suzerain.² The fact seems to be that the disastrous experiment of calling in the Teutonic bands had laid the country open to their rapacity, and there was no longer any security in the South-east for a native constitution.

In the North, however, where the Celtic population still held its own, various local kings emerge, from time to time, out of the obscurity of the records. There was, for instance, Coroticus of Strathclyde, with whom St. Patrick came into conflict because his fleet (for he had a fleet as well as a standing army) had carried off some Christian captives, and to whose subjects he addressed his letter of protest, about 450 A.D. It was one of his line, Rhydderch Hen, who fought against Hussa, the son of Ida, about the year 580.³ There was another kingdom, farther south, called Reged, which comes into prominence in the sixth century; the name of which Mr Bates⁴ suggested may possibly be still preserved in 'Redesdale' in Northumberland. There was also, of course, in existence still later the kingdom of Elmet,⁵ farther south again.

It may be assumed that when the old Roman foundations of society were broken up, and the Britons were left to their own management, the earlier tribal groupings gradually reasserted themselves; and successful military leaders of the prominent Roman-British families secured more or less autocratic power, and founded small dynasties. But this was obviously impossible in the districts which were overrun by the foreign invaders. Professor Oman thus sums up the situation:⁶ "If guessing is

¹ § 31. "Guorthigirnus regnavit in Britannia, et dum ipse regnabat . . . Guorthigirnus suscepit eos benigne et tradidit eis insulam, quae in lingua eorum vocatur Tanet, Britannico sermone Ruoihm." The story is also given, though with less detail, by Gildas, § 23. And it is repeated by Baeda, i, 14, 15.

² "Qui fuit rex inter omnes reges Britannicae gentis," § 48.

³ *Hist. Br.*, § 63. Cp. Oman, p. 191.

⁴ *Hist. of Northumberland*, p. 52.

⁵ See below, p. 26.

⁶ p. 194.

permitted, we may think of Britain in the early fifth century as a loose confederacy of communities, in which the municipal element was progressively growing weaker and the monarchical element stronger."

7. THE WALL.

The Northern province had been the most strongly garrisoned of all throughout the last century of the Roman occupation; and therefore it might have been expected to suffer the most severely when it was deprived of regular military protection. But in point of fact it appears to have maintained its independence very effectively for a long time.

This was not because it had nothing in the way of alluring spoil to attract the marauders. It is true that the excavations now in progress on the site of Corstopitum, in Northumberland, while they unexpectedly reveal how wealthy even the military towns in the North had been, yet make it clear that they were allowed to fall gradually into decay at the end of the Roman occupation.¹ Much booty, however, must still have remained in them, for they had not been sacked, or destroyed. And besides the towns there were fertile tracts of country, especially along the valley of the Ouse, which was, of course, easily accessible from the sea. But the province was protected in a remarkable way by the great wall from the Solway to the Tyne, which formed a very strong barrier against the Picts, and their allies the Scots.

If the Welsh tradition be true, that Cunedda patrolled the wall with a force of cavalry, it is an indication that the Britons themselves undertook the defence of that line when the Roman troops departed. The absurd story told by Gildas² of the Picts dragging the miserable defenders off the wall by means of grappling-hooks (*uncinata tela*), at all events points also to a British attempt to hold the works. But the fact remains that no Pictish settlements were ever established south of the wall. Northumbria was secured by this defence from any permanent occupation by its Northern foes. No doubt they had on various occasions, even before the Romans had left, succeeded in breaking through the line of the wall. Thus Constans in 343, and again Theodosius in 368, had been compelled to cross to Britain

¹ See Additional Note A, on 'Corstopitum,' p. 35.

² § 19.

in order to drive back the Picts and the Scots, who had penetrated to the south of the wall¹; and Maximus in 383 was faced with the same task. But it was not from that direction that the overthrow of the British power in Northumbria was to come eventually. Indeed, the British kingdoms beyond the wall, in the districts of Strathclyde and apparently also of Reged, had grown to be powerful, and more or less held the mastery over the Picts and the Scots. The real danger lay along the sea coast on the eastern side, from the ships of the Angles.

8. THE SAXONS.

The three Teutonic nations which succeeded in establishing a lasting settlement in Britain—the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles—are spoken of generically as ‘The Saxons’ by the writers before Baeda. They had menaced the land at intervals for a very long time before they were able to secure a fixed footing in it, in the fifth century. And even then another long period of intermittent conflict elapsed, with varying fortune, before they obtained their final victory over the Britons.

As early as the latter half of the third century they were so troublesome in harassing the coasts of Britain and of Northern Gaul by piratical raids, that at length Maximianus Hercules, the imperial colleague of Diocletian in the West, organised a fleet to deal with them. This was put under the command of Carausius; who, having successfully repelled their attacks, proclaimed himself Emperor, and landed in Britain; where, with the support of the army, he ruled for seven years, from 286 to 293. His reign was marked by strong and prosperous government. He carefully developed the navy, which from that time was regularly maintained. A little later it was placed under the control of the ‘Comes Littoris Saxonici,’ whose official title of itself proclaims the constant peril of invasion by the Saxons.

The fleet, however, appears to have afforded a sound defence against them, for no further Saxon inroad on any large scale is recorded until 364; when Nectarides, who was the ‘Comes Littoris Saxonici’ at that time, suffered a severe defeat, and was himself slain. And the enemy was not repulsed until

¹ Cp. *Camb. Med. Hist.*, i, 378.

Theodosius came upon the scene, and reorganised and strengthened the navy.¹

After this no further organised attempt on Britain by the Saxons is mentioned for considerably more than half a century. They were unable to break through the naval protecting force. But the shores were never free from the danger of irregular piratical descents. These are alluded to, for instance, by Claudian in his eulogy of Stilicho.²

In their attack on Nectarides the Saxons seem to have acted in concert with the Picts. A similar combination, curiously enough, reappears in the joint expedition which was ambushed, and broken up, by Bishop Germanus in the famous 'Alleluia' victory, in 429 A.D. The scene of this encounter is ascribed by Welsh tradition to the neighbourhood of Mold, in North Wales. A mile to the west of the town there is a site called Maes-Garmon ('Field of German'), which is said to be the spot where the rout took place; while four or five miles to the south-west of this position stands the church of Llanarmon, which also represents German's name. And place-names are among the most tenacious of memories. Moreover this district was very easily accessible from Verulamium, where German held his controversy with the Pelagian teachers, along the main road, afterwards called the Watling street, to Chester. But doubt has been expressed as to this locality on the west side of the country, because of the mention of the Saxons³; who could not possibly at that time have pushed, unopposed, across the mountainous region in the centre of the land. As, however, the account of the occurrence comes from Constantius of Lyons, it would seem more natural to doubt the reference to the Saxons; and to suppose that, living so far away, the writer confused the Scots with the Saxons: especially as only a little more than thirty years previously Cunedda had driven out a settlement of Scots from that very district; and they were likely to return when an opportunity offered. On the other hand, Baeda, who transcribes the story from Constantius,

¹ Cp. Ammianus, xxvi-xxviii. Pacatus, *Panegy.*, 5: "Saxo consumptus bellis navalibus offeretur? Redactum ad paludes suas Scotum loquar?" Claudian, *de quarto cons. Honorii*, 31-33: "Maduerunt Saxone fuso Orcades: incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule: Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne." See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xxv, § ii.

² *De primo cons. Stil.*, ii, 255. "Illius effectum curis . . . ne litore toto Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis" (Britannia loquitur).

³ Cp., e.g., Prof. Oman, p. 196.

retains the reference to the Saxons.¹ If it was Saxons who were associated with the Picts in this raid, they must have sailed round the North. But in any case it was an undertaking of no special magnitude. A strong force could not well have been overthrown and expelled in panic without a battle.

So long as the naval system established by the Romans remained in vigorous existence there was respite from Saxon invasion. But in the first half of the fifth century the fleet must have dwindled away, until it virtually disappeared. There was no central government to maintain it: there was no authority responsible for systematic shipbuilding. And when the Teutonic irruptions began to pour in one after the other, no trace appears of any resistance being opposed to them by sea.

9. THE OCCUPATION OF BRITAIN BY THE SAXONS.

The new stage of the story opens in 449 A.D. with the arrival of Hors and Hengist. They were, as we have seen, in the first instance welcomed by Vortigern, as allies against the Picts²: though the alliance soon broke down, and six years later they were fighting against Vortigern.³ As soon as they had secured their first settlement they sent to their old home to invite others of their kinsmen to cross to Britain; and so an influx was started which steadily increased, until the whole of the south-eastern and southern portions of the country were overrun by the invaders. But even so, it was a very long time before they were able to establish themselves as the dominant power in the land.

It is interesting to note the dates assigned by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to the several settlements: for they represent their own national tradition, which was not likely to err on the side of lateness of date. These dates, then, are:—⁴

449. "Hengest and Horsa . . . landed in Britain on the shore which is called Ypwinesfleet."

477. "Aella . . . came to the land of Britain . . . at a place which is named Cymenes-ora."

495. "Cerdic and Cynric . . . at the place which is called Cerdics-ore."

¹ i, 20.

² A.S. Chron., s.a. 449. "King Wyrtegeorn gave them land in the south-east of this country, on condition that they should fight against the Picts."

³ A.S. Chron., s.a. 455. "This year Hengest and Horsa fought against King Wyrtegeorn . . . and after that Hengest obtained the kingdom."

⁴ Ed. Stevenson, in *Church Historians of England*, vol. ii, part i.

501. "Port . . . came to Britain . . . at a place which is called Portsmouth."
514. "The West-Saxons came to Britain . . . at the place which is called Cerdic's-ore."
519. "Cerdic and Cynric obtained the kingdom of the West-Saxons."
530. "Cerdic and Cynric conquered the island of Wight."
547. "Ida began to reign, from whom arose the royal race of North-humbria."
560. "Ceawlin succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and Ida being dead, Aelle succeeded to the kingdom of North-humbria."
565. "Aethelbriht succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentishmen."
571. "Cuthwulf . . . took four towns" (Aylesbury, etc.).
577. "Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons, and they slew three kings . . . at the place which is called Deorham, and took three cities from them, Gloucester, and Cirencester, and Bath-ceaster."

Of these names, Cerdic, Cynric, Cuthwulf, Cuthwine, and (the no doubt mythical) Port do not occur in Baeda's History. They are, however, all connected with the West-Saxons, with whose kingdom the original compilers of the Chronicle were especially associated, but in which the northern Baeda had little interest. Moreover these early tribal movements hardly came within the proper scope of his work, which was 'the Ecclesiastical History of the Nation of the Angles.' Nor, again, does he care to enter into the story of the British Christians, who came into contact with the West-Saxons; and whom, with unconscious cynicism, he chides for not having preached the Gospel to the Saxons and the Angles 'who inhabited Britain side by side with them'!¹ Considering the process of ruthless and indiscriminate slaughter and pillage by which the Saxons had won their share in the land, as described by Gildas (whose account,—where it told against the Britons,—Baeda had just been quoting in this very passage), it is not surprising that the dispossessed inhabitants were not forward in attempting to convert their heathen oppressors.

They did, however, make a vigorous resistance to their aggression. The name of Ambrosius Aurelianus was long remem-

¹ i, 22.

bered amongst them as the leader who had rallied their scattered forces, and overcome the invaders so thoroughly that for many years comparative peace, or, at all events, an equality of power, was secured.¹ This action of Ambrosius, or Emrys, as he is called by the Welsh writers,² may with great probability be ascribed to the year 472, if Mr. E. B. Nicholson's interpretation of the very confused dating in Gildas³ be adopted.⁴ The forty-four years calculated by Gildas from that epoch would then fix the fight of Mount Badon in 516. This battle broke the power of the West-Saxons for nearly half a century; until they once more recovered their prestige under Ceawlin, who finally gained the supremacy of the West by his campaign of 577.

10. ARTHUR.

Gildas makes no mention of the name of the British General in the decisive engagement of the Mons Badonicus. But though the reference to that battle immediately follows his brief account of Ambrosius Aurelianus, he obviously does not imply that he was the commander. That battle was forty-four years later than the first public appearance of Ambrosius, and is cited as the climax of the long struggle for freedom initiated by him. And in speaking of him, in the preceding section, Gildas alludes to his grandsons as living at the time that he wrote.⁵ But it is not his way to give names. For instance, he does not mention Vortigern's name, though he tells of his action in welcoming the 'Saxon' immigrants⁶; he merely designates him as 'superbus tyrannus.'

The *Historia Brittonum*, however, states definitely that the victory was won under the leadership of Arthur, as the last of his famous twelve fights.⁷

A few years ago it was the literary fashion to regard Arthur as merely a mythical Celtic hero who probably never had any

¹ Gildas, 25, 26. "Ex eo tempore nunc cives nunc hostes vincebant." (Quoted by Baeda, i, 16.)

² See Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 103, 296.

³ § 26. "usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis . . . quique quadragesimus quartus ut novi orditur annus mense iam uno emenso, qui et meae nativitatis est."

⁴ See Oman, p. 201*n*.

⁵ § 25. "Cuius nunc temporibus nostris suboles magnopere *avita* bonitate degeneravit."

⁶ § 23.

⁷ § 56. "Duodecimum bellum in monte Badonis."

actual existence. Professor Rhys even went so far as to say that "the popular imagination of the Brythons had fully developed his attributes at a very early date, possibly before they had found a home in Britain . . . Arthur belongs to them all, wherever Celts have spoken a Brythonic language, from the Morbihan to the Caledonian forest."¹ But his name is undoubtedly Roman,—Artorius,—as so many names in the leading British families were after the departure of the Roman army and officials; and that derivation does not accord with a suggested origin in primitive folklore. Moreover local traditions about him are so strong and persistent that they cannot reasonably be thought to represent nothing but an idealised myth. On the contrary, they are good evidence of the memory of a real historical character. For traditions which are passed on from generation to generation by word of mouth through long periods of time, without any literary support from written records to aid memory, may generally be relied upon as trustworthy testimony. This is now coming to be recognised more and more; especially as the result of archæological investigations. For when some unexpected discovery affords an opportunity of testing a traditional story, it is often found to confirm it in a remarkable degree.² One such memory of Arthur, for example, lives on to the present day in Northumberland, in the district between Haltwhistle and Corbridge, where mothers still tell their children about Arthur meeting his 'soldiers' in a cave around a large stone on which a sword was laid.³

The fact is that suspicion fell on the real Arthur from the elaborate romances about him in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Chronicon, sive Historia Brittonum*, which was published in 1147, and became perhaps the most widely popular book of the twelfth century; and to which may be traced the greater part of the Arthurian legends of the Middle Ages. Geoffrey himself states that his work owed its inception to a request which he received from his friend, Walter Calenius, Archdeacon of Oxford, to translate a certain book in the Breton language, which he had brought home from Brittany. How much of his story is really derived from this original, or how much of it incorporates popular stories which were already current in Wales

¹ *Celtic Britain*, pp. 231, 233.

² See Additional Note B, on 'Local Traditions,' below, p. 36.

³ I was told of this tradition by the Rev. H. T. Hooper, of Ossett.

at the time, or, indeed, how much of it is simply due to Geoffrey's own imagination, it is impossible now to ascertain. At all events Geoffrey's book is the literary source of all the mass of subsequent writings about the exploits of Arthur.¹

Within four years of its appearance it was used by Geoffrey Gaimar in his Anglo-Norman verse *History of England*. He had been able to borrow a copy from a Yorkshire Baron, Walter Espec.² But this poem obtained only a limited circulation; for it was superseded some twenty years later, about 1171, by Wace's *Li Romans de Brut*, a long Anglo-Norman poem of more than fifteen thousand lines, which is virtually a translation in verse of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Brittonum*.³ And Wace, in turn, was translated somewhere about the end of the twelfth century, by Layamon, into 'semi-Saxon' (or 'First English,' as Professor H. Morley designates it) in another long poem.⁴

If the reading of the Arthurian section of the *Historia Brittonum* contained in the Vatican and the Parisian MSS.⁵ may be regarded as authentic, Arthur was not of particularly high origin. "Although," it runs, "there were many more noble than himself, yet he was on twelve occasions leader in the war, and victor in battle."⁶ This may account for the slight notice of him by his contemporaries⁷; just as in the case of Roland, "the popular hero of the 'Chansons de Geste.'"⁸

With regard to the sites of his twelve battles widely divergent conjectures have been urged. Some seek to locate several of them in Northumbria, or even farther north, as far as the Forth; while others maintain that they were all fought in the south-west of Britain. The truth is that, except in the few instances in which a British place-name was continued by the Anglo-Saxons,—such as London, Leeds (Loidis), Elmet,—it is

¹ *Nat. Dict. of Biog.*, ii, 127–8. Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Norman Period, pp. 143–7.

² *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, pp. 151–4.

³ *ibid.*, p. 207.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 439–42.

⁵ See ed. Mommsen, app. crit., p. 199. Cp. Introduction, pp. 119, 120, for these two MSS.

⁶ "Et licet multi ipso nobiliores essent ipse tamen duodecies dux belli fuit victorque bellorum."

⁷ Cp. the disparaging gloss in some MSS. of the *Hist. Brit.*, § 56. "Mab Uter Britannice, filius horribilis Latine, quoniam a puericia sua crudelis fuit."

⁸ See *Nat. Dict. Biog.*, ii, 127b.

impossible even to guess at the identification of a place the English name of which has completely superseded that by which the Britons knew it; unless, indeed, some early writer has happened to record both names. Who, for example, could recognise Ruoihm in Thanet, or Rithergabail in Episford, or Dinguardi (or Dinguoaroy) in Bamburgh, or Metcaud in Lindisfarne, but for the help of the *Historia Brittonum*? The available evidence is quite insufficient to fix the localities of Arthur's military exploits.¹

II. THE ANGLES IN NORTHUMBRIA.

In the dates of the 'Saxon' settlements in Britain given by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, already quoted, it will be noticed that the first mention of Northumbria comes quite low down on the list. There is no entry referring to the North before 547 A.D., or close upon a hundred years after the first occupation of the South-east under Hengist. It is, of course, *a priori* extremely improbable that there was no descent upon the northern coast, and no colony planted in the North, for a whole century. And in fact some indications may be traced of trouble from the invaders in the North; though the few authorities available for the fifth and sixth centuries seem to have little or no information as to what really went on there.

The *Historia Brittonum* relates² that Hengist advised Vortigern to concur in his inviting his son Octha to come across the sea, with his cousin Ebissa, and to occupy positions in the North near the wall, in order to act as a barrier against the Scots; and that this was done, and they arrived with forty keels, and swept the North Sea as far as the Orkneys. But these were Jutes, not Angles; and there is no trace of any Jutish settlement in Northumbria. Nor was this expedition apparently much more than a temporary campaign against the aggressors from beyond the Wall; though the record says that "they came and occupied many places beyond the Frenessic (or Fresic) Sea,"—that is the North Sea.³ But after the death of Hengist Octha came to Kent, and succeeded his father on the throne, and founded the Kentish dynasty.⁴ The *Historia* states that he

¹ Prof. Oman 'inclines to think that a real figure lurks beneath the tale of the *Historia Brittonum*,' pp. 211, 212.

² § 38.

³ Nennius: "qui inter nos Scottosque est."

⁴ § 56. "Et de ipso orti sunt reges Cantorum."

came to Kent "de sinistrali parte Britanniae." If this refers to the North, it would imply that he had secured some footing there for a few years. If so, it must no doubt have been considerably north of the Wall. But when the Jutes all concentrated in Kent, he abandoned his holding, wherever it was, and took his retinue with him.

Again, to what extent Arthur was actually engaged in the North against the Teutonic foe is very uncertain, owing to the difficulty of identifying the sites of his battles. But at all events it is evident that his redoubtable antagonist, Ossa (or Osla) Gyllellvawr ('knife-man'), mentioned in the Welsh traditions, was not the Ossa who appears in the genealogies¹ as the grandfather of Ida.² For he only comes to the front in the South-west³; and was probably a West-Saxon.

It was not Jutes, but Angles, who eventually became possessed of Northumbria. But when, and where, they first arrived is not known.

A curious Anglian tradition survives in the genealogy of the kings of the Deuri (or Deiri); where Soemil, an ancestor of Aelle in the fifth generation, is said to have been the first to separate "Deur o Birneich."⁴ This certainly seems to point to Anglian settlements on the Northumbrian coast, both north and south of the Wall, fairly early in the fifth century: for Aelle died in 588,⁵ and five generations carry the date of Soemil a long way back. But if they were there so early they made singularly little impression on Northumbria generally, and cannot at any time have penetrated to any distance inland.

The earliest organised resistance to their encroachment which is traceable did not begin until the time of Ida, in the middle of the sixth century. Until then, it would seem Northumbria was practically intact. Ida secured possession of the fortress of Dinguayrði, which at a later date the Angles renamed Bebbanburh (Bamburgh) after Queen Bebba. He was fiercely opposed by Dutigirn: but only the fact is mentioned; no details are preserved.⁶

¹ *Hist. Brit.*, § 57.

² So Bates, *Hist. of Northumberland*, p. 51; and Oman, p. 241.

³ See Lady Guest's *Mabinogion*, Ed. Williams (pub. by Dent), pp. 103, 133, 141.

⁴ *Hist. Brit.*, § 61.

⁵ A.S. Chron.

⁶ *Hist. Brit.*, §§ 61, 63, 62.

Twenty years later Urien (or Urbgen), the King of Reged, appeared upon the scene as the champion of the Britons. He fought strenuously against Ida's son Hussa, the Bernician King (567-574). He was the head of a confederacy of four kings. In this war the Britons apparently were completely victorious; for after 573, during the reign of Hussa's successor, Urien was able to leave Northumbria, and lead an expedition of his Brythons against the southern Goidels of Wales.¹ But he returned to the North later, and conducted a campaign against another son of Ida, Theodric, who had succeeded to the Bernician throne (580-587). At length he drove the Angles back into the island of Metcaud (Lindisfarne), where he held them for three days. But while he was prosecuting this attack he was basely assassinated, at the instigation of Morcant, one of the confederate kings who had fought under him against Hussa, out of envy of his pre-eminent reputation as a military commander.²

After the death of Urien the power of the Angles was greatly increased. The Welsh traditions state that Urien's son Owain, or Owen, carried on the war for a time. But he fell in battle against Theodric³; and for some years after that there appears to have been no attempt to overcome the Angles.

The last determined effort from the North, according to Baeda,⁴ that was made to drive them out was led by Aedan, King of the Dalriad Scots, who had been converted to Christianity by Columba. In 600 A.D. he won a battle, in which King Enfrid, the nephew of Hussa, fell. Three years later he returned to the attack, with a mixed army composed of his own Scots, of Picts from Manaw, and of allies from Ireland.⁵ This rally of the old hereditary foes of the Britons in support of them against their oppressors can only be regarded as an eloquent testimony to the unifying results of Columba's missionary activities. A common Christianity was the bond. For on the far west coast the Scots were not in danger from the Angles of the Northumbrian sea-board. Aedan, however, now

¹ Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 251-2.

² *Hist. Brit.*, § 63.

³ Oman, p. 243.

⁴ i, 34. "Neque ex eo tempore quisquam regum Scottorum in Brittania adversus gentem Anglorum usque ad hanc diem in proelium venire audebat."

⁵ Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 156.

had to face the vigorous Aethelfrith. The armies met at Degsastan, and the Angles were completely victorious. From that time forward their supremacy was unchecked. The Britons were subdued, or driven back to the west beyond the Cheviots.

There still remained, however, an independent British kingdom in the south of Northumbria,—that of Elmet. The extent of this kingdom is uncertain. Mr. J. R. Green¹ argues that it probably coincided roughly with the area of the present West Riding of Yorkshire, stretching from the Peak to the forest of Knaresborough, and from the Roman north road by Tadcaster to the central ridge where Lancashire and Yorkshire now meet. This may have been the case. But on the other hand the names of Loidis and Elmet only occur within a very limited district to the east of Leeds.² And this, though not conclusive in view of the general obliteration of British place-names, is the only direct evidence that is available. And it points to a much more restricted territory than that which Mr. Green suggests.

In Elmet Cerdic held sway even during the masterful reign of Aethelfrith; perhaps as the price of poisoning Hereric, Edwin's nephew, and the father of Hilda, who had taken refuge in his kingdom.³ For Aethelfrith, who more than all the other Anglian leaders harried the Britons,⁴ no less fiercely pursued the house of Aelle.⁵ But when Edwin came to the throne he annexed Elmet, and drove out Cerdic⁶; and that district remained in the hands of the Angles. For Edwin's successors built themselves a royal 'vill' there.⁷

12. THE PERMANENT BRITISH ELEMENT IN NORTHUMBRIA.

So at last the Northumbrian Britons were completely dominated by the Angles. But they had maintained a prolonged

¹ *Making of England*, p. 255.

² See Moorman, *Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* [Thoresby Soc. Pub., vol. xviii (1910)], p. x.

³ Baeda, iv, 23. "Cum Hereric exularet sub rege Brettonum Cerdice, ubi et veneno periit."

⁴ Baeda, i, 34. "Plus omnibus Anglorum primatibus gentem vastavit Brettonum."

⁵ See Green, *Making of England*, pp. 247-9. For his persistent attempts to get Edwin into his power, cp. Baeda, ii, 12. "Cum persequente illum Aedilfrido . . . per diversa occultus loca vel regna multo annorum tempore profugus vagaretur etc."

⁶ *Hist. Brit.*, § 63. "Et ipse occupavit Elmet et expulit Certic regem illius regionis."

⁷ Baeda, ii, 14. "Reges posteriores fecere sibi villam in regione quae vocatur Loidis."

and stubborn resistance; and even when they lost their independence, they by no means disappeared from their old home, but still remained in the land as a constituent part, indeed most probably by far the larger part, of the population under the new régime. Some whole districts still remained predominantly British. For instance, it would appear that the Angles never occupied large parts of the wild mountainous tract to the west of Leeds. In the rough triangle between Halifax, Todmorden, and Keighley there seems to be no trace of their presence. They were of course, at a later date at any rate, established all along the lower ground to the east of this tract, as the crosses and inscriptions at Dewsbury and Thornhill prove. There is also the socket of an early cross at Rastrick; but that was on the south side of the Roman road which crossed Blackstone Edge, and which must have been used for access to the west side of the ridge. But the whole of that neighbourhood was excessively wild and difficult, and offered no attraction to settlers. Even in the near neighbourhood of Leeds itself the land remained uncultivated down to the twelfth century. For when the Cistercians founded their House at Kirkstall in 1152 they found the site "covered with woods, and unproductive of crops; a place well nigh destitute of good things save timber and stone."¹

But it was not only in the unattractive hilly and wooded parts that the Celtic natives remained in the land. Elsewhere, too, as will appear presently, but particularly in the south of Northumbria, they continued to live on side by side with their conquerors. Indeed, this was a distinctive feature of the Anglian kingdoms. In the Saxon settlements the case was very different. There, as Mr. Green, perhaps too sweepingly, but no doubt with substantial accuracy, asserts²: "So far as the conquest had yet gone it had been complete. Not a Briton remained as subject or slave on English ground. Sullenly, inch by inch, the beaten men drew back from the land which their conquerors had won; and eastward of the border line which the English sword had drawn all was now purely English." But under the régime of the Angles there was no such expatriation of the vanquished inhabitants.³

¹ *Architectural Description of Kirkstall Abbey*, Thoresby Soc. Pub., vol. xvi, p. 3.

² *Hist. of the English People*, Book I, ch. ii, vol. i, p. 28.

³ See below, § 16, pp. 33, 34.

13. BRITISH CHURCH SITES.

The continuity of a British population, and the preservation of its traditions, even after the Anglian conquest, are evidenced in connexion with the sites of churches. The pagan Angles in their inroads had destroyed the Christian churches, and driven away their clergy; just as their kinsmen, the Saxons, did in the South. But the old associations were not forgotten, as they would have been if only the new race had been in the country. Their memories were carefully cherished; and were still alive at the end of the seventh century. Eddi, in his *Life of Wilfrid*, gives a description of the consecration of the new Anglian church at Ripon in 671. After the dedication of the building, he says, Bishop Wilfrid, standing in front of the altar, turned towards the people and, in the presence of the kings, read out a list of the districts which they, both previously and on that day, had given to him for the good of their souls, with the consent and signature of the Bishops and all the Nobles (*principes*); adding also the consecrated spots in various places which the British clergy had abandoned in their flight "before the edge of the sword wielded by our race."¹ It is conceivable that some of these sites might even yet be identified by painstaking investigation, if the original dedications of the parish churches could be recovered.

It appears from scattered notices in Baeda's *History* that the earliest churches built by the Angles, when they were converted to Christianity, were commonly dedicated in the name of one or other of the principal Apostles. Thus the churches at Eburacum, Bebbanburh, Lindisfarne, In Hrypum (Ripon), Streanæshalch (Whitby), and Uiuraemuda (Wearmouth) were all consecrated under the name of St. Peter²; at In Gyruum (Jarrow), under that of St. Paul³; and at Hagustaldesa⁴ (Hexham), in that of St. Andrew.⁵ That was the Anglian official plan. But in the Celtic Church the system in vogue was that of 'proprietary dedications'; by which churches were called

¹ § xvii. "Necnon et ea loca sancta in diversis regionibus quae Clerus Britonum, aciem gladii hostilis manu gentis nostrae fugiens, deseruit."

² ii, 14; iii, 6; iii, 17; iii, 25, v, 1; v, 19; iii, 24, iv, 26; iv, 18, v, 21, v. 24.

³ v, 21, v, 24. Cp. the still existing Dedication Inscription.

⁴ Baeda only uses the adjective 'Hagustaldensis.' But the substantive is found in Eddi, *Vita Wilfridi*, § 22. The name appears in the A.S. Chron. as Hagustaldes éa: s.aa. 681, 766.

⁵ v, 20.

after the names of the local Saints, whose lives were associated with the district. This practice, for example, is strongly in evidence in the case of the Cornish churches; and it may also be traced in Cumberland.¹ It is not improbably an indication of a powerful, if not pervading, influence of the British element in the Northumbrian Church,—aided no doubt by the active sympathy of the Celtic missionaries from Iona,—that such proprietary dedications became common in the North at an early date. Thus the parish church of Bamburgh (as distinguished from the chapel in the Castle, referred to above) was apparently known from the first as St. Aidan's. So, too, the church at Tweedmouth was St. Boisil's.² And St. Hild's, at South Shields, has always borne that name, as a heritage from the Abbess Hild's first Religious House.³

In fact these local designations tended, comparatively soon, to oust the original titles. So the chapel in Bamburgh Castle came to be called St. Oswald's, instead of St. Peter's⁴; and to this day St. Paul's Church at Jarrow is popularly spoken of as St. Bede's.⁵

Now local appellations of this kind obviously enshrine local traditions. And if the names of British Saints, as applied to parish churches, could be recovered from very early records, they might furnish valuable information concerning the activities of the British Church. There is, at all events, one such in York, St. Samson's, which preserves, or professes to preserve, the memory of Bishop Samson, who is said to have been driven out of York by the Angles about 500 A.D.⁶ The identification of this Bishop with the Bishop Samson of Dol in Armorica is of course more than doubtful.⁷ But there may also have been a Bishop Samson of York.⁸ At Fenton near Wooler, in Northumberland, the church of St. Ninian, which has long since disappeared, cherished, according to the local tradition, the memory of Ninian's first preaching there; an association which was also marked by 'St. Ninian's Well,' and by the annual

¹ See *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Ant. and Arch. Soc.*, vol. vii, p. 118.

² *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. xiii, pp. 326, 342.

³ *ibid.*, vol. xix, pp. 47-75.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. xiii, p. 334.

⁵ Though, of course, Baeda has never been formally canonised.

⁶ Lappenberg, vol. i, p. 118. *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, A.S. period, p. 121.

⁷ See Bright, *Early English Church History*, p. 32.

⁸ Cp. Miss Arnold-Forster's *Studies in Church Dedications*, vol. ii, p. 185.

cattle fair held on September 27, and popularly called 'St. Ninian's Fair.'¹ For the date, September 27, in consequence of the rectification of the calendar in 1752, corresponds with St. Ninian's Day, September 16. Similarly at Simonburn, in Northumberland, the tradition of Kentigern's missionary journey from Scotland to Wales is preserved in the dedication of the church as St. Mungo's (Kentigern's pet name), as also in 'Mungo's Well' close by, which is marked on the ordnance map by mistake as 'Muggers' Well. Again, it is possible that the church of St. Maurice, in York, may memorialise a British hero rather than the more famous Maurice of the Theban Legion. For the traditions mention two of this name: the first as one of the three British princes who were said to have aided Constantine in his conflict with Maxentius; and the other as one of the deputation that went to invite Maximus to come to the assistance of the Britons against their foes.

If the original dedications of churches had been preserved, the matter would be fairly simple. But they have been subject to so many vicissitudes in the course of centuries² that the primary designations can only now be ascertained, in many instances, by the examination of the earliest documentary references to them which can be traced. This evidence is, perhaps, chiefly found in Wills. And the importance of this source of information may be gauged from the fact that Canon Raine was able from it to make more than two hundred corrections of, or additions to, the current church dedications in Yorkshire alone.³

A few churches in the North apparently still retain their ancient dedications in the names of the more famous Celtic Saints: such as St. Brandan, at Brancepeth, in Durham; St. David, at Airmyn, near Goole; St. Ninian, at Whitby, where a new church continues the old name of a chapel attached to the abbey; and St. Patrick, at Patrington, in the East Riding. These, of course, are not 'proprietary dedications.' They have no reference to local associations with these Saints. But they show that the heritage of the British Church was not forgotten.

¹ Cp. Miss Arnold Forster's *Studies in Church Dedications*, vol. ii, p. 223.

² See Additional Note C, on 'Church Dedications,' below, p. 38.

³ *Yorks. Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, vol. ii (1873), pp. 180-92.

14. THE EVIDENCE OF THE WEST RIDING PLACE-NAMES.

Unfortunately, comparatively little trace of British occupation can be gleaned from the place-names of Northumbria, for the reason mentioned above; that only in very few cases did the conquerors retain the old Celtic names. Almost universally they renamed their settlements after the first holders of their own race. Dr. Moorman, in his valuable account of *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*,¹ states that "a study of the place-names," which he has investigated, "will show that about two-thirds of the names in the West Riding are wholly or partly of English origin."² Of the remaining third a large proportion must be assigned, as Scandinavian, to the later Danish invaders; and one or two to a Norman origin.³ There is, therefore, only a small residuum of Celtic names. Dr. Moorman's plan, however, does not include all the names in the district, but only those which find a place in Mr. Skaife's *Domesday Book for Yorkshire*, or in his edition of *Kirkby's Inquest, Knights' Fees, and Nomina Villarum for Yorkshire*.⁴ There may probably, therefore, be a few other Celtic place-names in the West Riding besides those which are contained in his list.

But he points out some interesting results which may be gathered even from the very limited number of such names that he has been able to verify.

Some of the Roman-British names were changed: as Calcaria, which in Baeda's day was still Kaelcacaestir,⁵ appears as Tada in the continuation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1066; and so developed into Tadcaster. But many of them remained in a modified form. Eburacum under the Angles became Eoforwic (by assimilation to the English words 'eofor' = wild boar, and 'wic' = dwelling-place); under the Vikings, Ioforvik; then Iorvik, then Yorick, and finally York (as in Chaucer).⁶ Danum survives in Doncaster; Olicana (partly) in Ilkley.⁷

¹ Thoresby Soc. Pub., vol. xviii (1910).

² p. xiii.

³ p. xxxiii.

⁴ Preface.

⁵ iv, 23. "Secessit ad civitatem Calcariam, quae a gente Anglorum Kaelcacaestir appellatur."

⁶ pp. i, ii.

⁷ p. v.

The kingdom of Loidis, or Elmet, is represented respectively in Leeds (through assimilation of Loidis to 'Leodes,' the genitive of 'léod' = a ruler), Ledsham, Ledstone, and possibly Lead Hall; and in Barwick-in-Elmet, Sherburn-in-Elmet, and Saxton-in-Elmet.¹

A few personal Celtic names are found embedded in later compound words: such as Cameleac in Camblesforth, Dewi (David) in Dewsbury,² and perhaps Dacorios in Dacre. Also Celtic river-names remain in Aire, Grantley, and Rotherham.

Of greater interest, perhaps, is the indication of a British settlement in Walton (near Wetherby), or Wealatun, that is 'the enclosure of the Wealas' (or Welsh).³

This evidence is by no means extensive: but so far as it goes it is suggestive. For when the successive layers of immigrant races which have settled on the land are taken into consideration, and the fact that each in its turn has stamped its own names on its settlements; and further that, as for example in the case of Leeds, a process of assimilation of Celtic place-names to similar sounds in the tongues of the later arrivals has been going on; the wonder is that as much is left as there is to tell of the continued existence in this district in Anglian times of a British element as an integral part of the population. If earlier records of the local place-names than those used by Dr. Moorman could be found, they might well reveal further, at present unexpected, traces of the same kind.

15. THE BRITISH ELEMENT IN THE LOCAL DIALECT.

But place-names are not the only linguistic testimony to the various races that have occupied the land. The local dialects are strangely conservative of traditional words that have been handed down through many centuries, during which the English language has been universally spoken. So in the peculiar vocabulary of Tyneside a very large proportion of the vernacular expressions are pure Norsk; especially in the small corner immediately to the south of the mouth of the river, from South Shields to Boldon, and between Jarrow and the sea. Such words, for instance, as 'lisk' thigh (N. lyske), 'nief' fist (N. næve), 'lop' flea (N. loppe), 'stot' rebound (N. stød), 'maniwler' tom-cat [South Shields only] (N. mone [house-ridge] hyl), 'hyem' home (N. hjem), and the like, clearly

¹ pp. vi, x.

² p. vii.

³ p. viii.

manifest their origin. This in itself is strong evidence that the Danes settled in force in that district in the eighth and ninth centuries. And this evidence is corroborated by other local traces of Danish occupation ; such as, to take one example, the cobbles of the north-east coast, which are constructed exactly on Scandinavian lines, with a curved keel ; and are of quite a different build from the straight-keeled British boats, like those which have been dug up near Glastonbury.

Now in the case of Elmet there is similarly an element of purely Celtic words, which are still in popular use. A paper by Mr. John Davies, which appeared in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* in 1885,¹ gives a list of Celtic words commonly heard in the dialect of the Leeds district : for instance, 'mālach' a disturbance, 'six' to pull (at a pipe), 'peggy' a sharpened piece of wood, 'croodle' to crouch, 'merle' to crumble, etc. From an analysis of the words so collected certain inferences may be drawn. Thus it appears that the wives of the Anglian conquerors, and mothers of their children, were predominantly British, because many of the Celtic expressions locally preserved are exclusively feminine, or belong to the state of childhood. Or again, the Celtic population is found to have supplied the agricultural workers and the artificers of the community. And these two features in combination clearly point far back to the time when the warriors of the conquering race first settled down, and made the district their home. And they reveal how the two races were amalgamated into one ; partly by marriage, and partly by the association of the mutual interests of fighters and workers.

16. THE ANGLES AND THE BRITONS.

For the methods followed by the Angles in their conquest of the land, as has already been noticed,² would seem to have been different in character from those adopted by the Saxons in the South. The latter set themselves to drive away the vanquished Britons from their old homes, or to annihilate them ; except a mere remnant whom they kept as their slaves. In the Saxon districts of England there seems to be little or no indication of any British element of early origin in the population ; though of course irregular later immigrations have, for centuries past, continually brought back many Celtic inhabitants

¹ Vol. ii, 5th series, p. 177.

² § 12.

into these parts. But the Angles, when once they had secured the mastery, were content to 'live and let live.' They formed one people with the Britons who remained within their territory.

Baeda records¹ that Edwin, in the earlier years of his reign,—before he became a Christian, and therefore while the old heathen system of conducting warfare was still unmodified,—subdued the 'Mevanian islands' of Man and Anglesey. But the population of these islands,—though the very name of the latter proclaims its subjugation by the Angles,—has always remained Celtic. The original inhabitants, that is, became tributary, but were not dispossessed, still less destroyed.

Mr. Grant Allen, in his *Anglo-Saxon Britain*, has collected some interesting fragments of evidence from various sources which point to the continuance of a British population in the Anglian territories. The laws of Northumbria, for instance, mention the 'Welshmen' who paid rent to the king.² So too at Cambridge, at a much later date, probably in the eleventh century, the rules of the Gild of Thanes enacted a half fine only for killing a 'Welshman:' "If the man slain be a ceorl let each give two oras, if a Welshman, one ora."³ From such references it is clear that there was a considerable Celtic element, though in a subordinate station, among the inhabitants both of Northumbria and of East Anglia.

There is, however, a specially convincing proof of another kind to be found in the persistence of the Celtic racial type in these two essentially Anglian districts. In Yorkshire, especially in the plain of York, in Lincolnshire, and in Norfolk and Suffolk, a "dark, short, non-Teutonic type" of men is common.⁴ The significance of this continuity of type cannot be mistaken. Moreover, the examination of burial-places of the Anglian period tells the same story. The remains of men of both races have been found side by side in the same districts, especially in Suffolk. "Just where people of the dark type occur abundantly at the present day, skulls of the corresponding sort are met with abundantly in interments of the Anglo-Saxon period."⁵

¹ ii, 5; ii, 9.

² p. 67.

³ Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. i, p. 15. Cp. Allen, p. 65.

⁴ Prof. Phillips, referred to by Allen, p. 57.

⁵ Allen, p. 59.

Northumbria, therefore, which was the last part of the land to be overcome by the Teutonic invaders, when its own crisis came was so far fortunate that it fell under the domination of the Angles, and not of the Saxons. For the Angles were at once the least ruthless and the strongest of the aggressors. And when they were converted to Christianity their national characteristics asserted themselves more and more emphatically; and their influence spread farther and farther, as through their means the Saxon kingdoms were also won to the Christian Faith. And so it came about that they eventually, in a large measure, set the common standard of constitution for the whole country, which as one united realm at last took from them its name of England.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

A. CORSTOPITUM.¹

Some tentative excavations were carried out on the site of Corstopitum by the Northumberland History Committee in August and September, 1906. The discoveries then made were so encouraging that a 'Corbridge Excavation Committee' was formed to carry on the work systematically. This Committee has continued the excavations regularly during the summer months since 1907; and they are not yet completed. The annual reports are published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in *Archaeologia Aeliana*.

The following very interesting summary of the evidence secured during the past six years with regard to the period, or rather periods, of effective occupation of the place, is from a letter of Mr. R. H. Forster, who has been in charge of the explorations from 1907:—

"The evidence for a conflagration at Corstopitum about the middle of the fourth century consists mainly of collections of burnt coins found in various parts of the site at corresponding levels, viz. just under the occupation levels of the latest period. The first to be found was in the 'Pottery Shop' in 1907 (*Arch. Ael.*, 3rd series, vol. iv, p. 252). Another (see same page) was found the same year in the main street further to the west; a third in 1908, in one of the south courts of the

¹ See above, § 7, p. 15.

'Forum,' between the latest floor and the last but one (*Arch. Ael.*, vol. v, p. 361). In 1910 we found a coin of Julian in one of the south courts of the 'Forum' below the latest floor, which seems to indicate that the conflagration occurred somewhat later than we had previously supposed; but I am doubtful whether the evidence is sufficient. . . .

The mid-fourth century conflagration did not mark the 'final fall' of the town. There is ample evidence of a large amount of restoration and rebuilding about A.D. 364; probably when Theodosius was in Britain; and the life of the place seems to have continued, though in a feeble manner, for something more than twenty years more. I am inclined to think that 'final fall' is not the right expression, as it suggests capture, etc. The evidence seems rather to indicate that the place gradually died out; and the withdrawal of troops by Maximus would assist the process. The gold hoard found in 1908, which dates from about 383-5, was hidden in the disused furnace of an already abandoned building.

Generally, the evidence points to the following periods:—

1. Some form of occupation in the time of Agricola, which probably continued well into the reign of Trajan.
2. A period embracing the greater part of the second century, broken by disasters about 160 and 180, but lasting nearly to A.D. 200.
3. A period beginning probably with the visit of Severus, and lasting till the middle of the fourth century.
4. The closing period, from the elder Theodosius to Maximus, or a few years later. . . . "

B. LOCAL TRADITIONS.¹

The tenacity and trustworthiness of local traditions may be illustrated by three typical instances:—

(1) "A curious instance of traditional memory in connection with wakes is given in *Folklore*, September, 1890, as follows:— 'An unlettered old cottager at High Offley, in Staffordshire, startled me one day by observing that the village wake would be held on the Monday after the 15th of August, "the 'sumption o' Mary.'" Now the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin has, we know, been removed from the calendar of the English Church since 1549. I knew the old lady well, and I

¹ See above, § 10, p. 21.

do not think she can have come in contact with anyone likely to inform her of the festival as a matter of scholarly learning. I cannot but think that it was the importance of fixing the right date for the village wake that has caused the disused Saint's day to be remembered for over three hundred years."

[From *Field Club Notes*, by S. A. H. Burne, in *The Staffordshire Advertiser* for 21 August, 1909.]

(2) "One of the most interesting of these [barrows] will be found close to the entrance to Sherbrook Valley, on the Milford side of the old Roman cart track. The opening of this 'bury' afforded a remarkable instance of the confirmation of oral tradition by modern research. Such tradition had from time immemorial described the Milford 'bury' as the grave of three kings slain in a great battle fought on the spot. At the base of the mound were found three separate and distinct layers of human bones, all showing the action of fire and surrounded by a few coarse fragments of ancient British pottery. As confirmatory of the tradition, it is of course noteworthy that no other remains were found, and that apparently no previous disturbance of the tumulus had taken place."

[From *Historical Studies, relating chiefly to Staffordshire*, by J. L. Cherry and Karl Cherry, Stafford, 1908. Article on 'Cannock Chase,' p. 28.]

(3) The following account has been kindly furnished by the Bishop of Beverley:—

"There had always been a tradition in Saxton, the parish in which Towton is situated, that Lord Dacre's horse was buried beside him in Saxton Churchyard. Lord Dacre was one of the commanders of the left wing of the Lancastrian army.¹ He fell in the battle, and was buried in the churchyard, and his grave was marked by a tombstone, which is still in its place.

The battle [of Towton Field] took place on Palm Sunday, March 29, 1461. And somewhere about the middle of last century the grave-digger found the remains of a horse,—the jaw-bone of which was shown to me,—in the ground, close to Lord Dacre's grave.

I was talking one day to an old man in my own parish about the facts I have named, when he repeated to me the following words:—

¹ See Oman, *Political History of England*, vol. iv, p. 407.

‘ The Lord of Potacre (*sic*)
Was found in Nor acre
And shot in a Bottery bush.’

Bottery is still the local name for elder in these parts.

Sir Clements Markham gives the following account of Lord Dacre’s death, in his book on Richard the Third. He says he was shot with an arrow by a boy who was in a ‘Bur-tree’; the boy shooting in revenge, because he had killed his father.

I have always thought the story very interesting, as an instance of the persistence and reliability of local tradition.

My informant as to the main facts was the Vicar of the parish.”

C. CHURCH DEDICATIONS.¹

It is not commonly realised how serious has been the obliteration of church dedications; partly from disuse, and partly from arbitrary changes.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were almost universally forgotten, at any rate in the North. Mr. C. J. Bates, in an interesting paper on *The Dedications of the Ancient Churches and Chapels in the Diocese of Newcastle*,² quotes a letter of Archdeacon Sharp, written in 1744, to Brown Willis, who had asked for a list of the dedications in his Archdeaconry of Northumberland, in which he states that after careful inquiry (in three rural deaneries) he was only able to ascertain the dedications of four churches.

When, on the revival of Church life, an attempt was made to recover, and use, the names of the eponym Saints of the parish churches, which had completely passed out of memory, too often the local authorities were misled by the date of the local feasts; assuming that they represented the dedications according to the ancient custom:—a custom which goes back at all events to the very beginning of the seventh century. For Gregory, writing to Mellitus, urged ‘that on the day of the dedication [of a church], or on the birthday [that is, the date of the death] of the holy martyrs whose relics were deposited there a feast should be celebrated with religious conviviality.’³ But these feasts had in many instances been

¹ See above, § 13, p. 30.

² *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xiii, p. 317 (1889).

³ Baeda, i, 30. “ Ut die dedicationis, vel natalitii sanctorum martyrum quorum illic reliquiae ponuntur . . . religiosis conviviiis solemnitatem celebrent.”

arbitrarily transferred in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to other dates for practical reasons of convenience. Thus, for example, Bishop Fox in 1493 changed the village feast at Kewstoke, in Somerset, from August 9 to the Sunday next after the feast of St. Anne (July 26), to avoid interference with harvesting.¹ So in 1447, Bishop Adam Moleyn changed the dedication commemoration of Chichester Cathedral from Sept. 12 (St. Eanswith's day),² its original date, to October 3, in order to prevent any complication arising during the octave with the observance of other festivals.³

But the worst confusion of all followed from the order issued in the "Primer" of 1539, that "the feast of dedication of the church shall in all places throughout this realm be celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the month of October for ever, and on no other day. Item, that the feast of the patron of every church within this realm, called commonly the church holy-day, shall not from henceforth be kept or observed as a holy day as heretofore hath been used."⁴ Many parishes, but by no means all, obeyed this order. And where this was done, the local feast accordingly followed immediately after Michaelmas. So that when an effort was made to recover the forgotten dedication of the parish church, it was naturally supposed that it had been St. Michael from the current date of the local feast. Indeed, the name of St. Michael as attached to any ancient parish church is always open to suspicion, unless confirmatory evidence earlier than the sixteenth century is forthcoming.

There is yet another cause of direct change of dedications which has to be taken into account. After the Black Death of 1349 it was through the vigorous development of the woollen trade, which had before that time become the chief commercial industry of the country, that absolute ruin was averted, and eventually prosperity was regained. In the fifteenth century the several Guilds of the various branches of this trade were promi-

¹ See *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xiii, p. 319.

² See Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*: "Her chief festival in the English calendar was kept on the 12th of September, probably the day of the translation of her relics, or of the dedication of some church in her honour." (The day of her death was August 31.)

³ Swainson, *The Hist. and Constitution of a Cathedral of the Old Foundation* (=Chichester), part i, p. 91.

⁴ See Miss Arnold-Forster's *Studies in Church Dedications*, vol. i, p. xii.

nent rebuilders of the parish churches. And where they undertook this work they not infrequently rededicated the new buildings in the names of their own Patron Saints. St. John the Baptist was the Patron Saint of the wool staplers, the most extensive of the Guilds. So the parish church at Halifax is only referred to as the church of St. John the Baptist after it was rebuilt in the middle of the fifteenth century. Similarly Heptonstall Church is dedicated in the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the Patron Saint of the Mercers' Guild, who had a Cloth Hall there. It may perhaps be due to a similar cause that the church of Edlingham, in Northumberland, which was originally St. Helen's, as appears from a charter of about 1200 A.D., had become St. John the Baptist's in 1358, when it is so designated in the will of Sir William de Fenton.¹ There are more than five hundred churches of St. John the Baptist, the majority of which are ancient churches; and about seventy of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

¹ See *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xiii, pp. 337-8.

TYPES OF THE EMPERORS

REPRESENTED IN THE BRAMLEY FIND OF COINS.



Find of Roman Coins in Leeds.

THERE is no record of Leeds being in existence during the times of the Romans. There is no trace of any military encampment or station between Castleford on the south-east and Adel or Ilkley on the north-west, though mention is made of a Roman road passing through Leeds by way of Quarry Hill (Wall Flats) and the Calls, crossing the River Aire by a ford to Armley, and also following what is now called Kendal Lane, across Woodhouse Moor to Hyde Park, thence on to Adel.

Owing to there being no Roman station in Leeds, few relics or remains of that period have been found within the city boundary.

Mr. Wardell, in his *Antiquities of Leeds*, 1853, mentions the following finds of Roman coins in the borough:—

- 1715. A quantity found at Beeston.
- 1774. A gold coin of the Emperor Justinian found at Osmondthorpe.
- 1818. A few coins found in Wade Lane, believed to be Roman.
- 1838. In digging a foundation at Joppa Tannery, a fine first brass of Nero.
- 1846. A small urn was dug up in Battye Wood; no record was kept, except of seven coins.
- 1846. Three coins of the Emperor Magnentius were found in a field at Burmantofts.

Other accounts show that in—

- 1858. Two denarii were found, one of the Emperor Galba.
- 1862. Near Weetwood, a denarius of the Licinian family.
- 1905. A copper coin of Claudius struck at Alexandria was found at Gipton Wood, Leeds; now in the Museum of Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.

The farmers round Rothwell occasionally dig up coins of the early Roman Emperors; a fine first brass of Vespasian was recently found there.

As all trace of many of the above coins has been lost, a description of the present find of over 3,000 third brass Roman coins may be of interest, as without doubt it is the most extensive and noteworthy find of Roman relics of the period of Roman occupation ever dug up within the city boundary.

The find was made by a labouring man at Bramley, who, on making an excavation, accidentally came across an iron pot, which, on examination, he found was full of small copper coins. The man, unfortunately, not understanding the value of the iron vessel, broke it up, and threw the pieces away, and although afterwards particular search was made, not a trace could be found of the fragments. For some reason, the man placed about 200 of the coins in the saucer of a common plant-pot, and buried them in a quarry at Pudsey, some distance from where the original find was made, probably intending to recover them later. Meantime the hoard of 200 was discovered by some boys, who appear to have disposed of a number in Pudsey; but about 70, together with the saucer in which they were found, were secured by the Archæological Department of the University of Leeds, and another batch of 20 was acquired by the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society by the kindness of a few members. A description of these was given in the 90th Report of the Society, 1909-1910, by the Hon. Librarian, Mr. Aquila Dodgson, who has charge of the numismatic collections.

The greater portion of the Bramley find eventually came into the possession of the late Mr. James Verity, of Earlsheaton, a great Yorkshire numismatist, who intended writing a full account of the find and description of the coins, but Mr. Verity's death at the end of 1910 prevented this.

One of the problems in connection with the find is that though the coins cover a period of not more than thirty-eight years, they are practically all in mint condition, although a number are very badly struck. It is possible that at the high ground at Bramley there was a Roman military post or outlook, and coins were sent to the chief officer at Bramley direct from the mint; he, after taking his portion, hoarded it in the iron pot until the time that he might be recalled, which would account for their condition. His hoard would thus gradually increase as his yearly receipt of coins was added, and as these were received in consecutive order the portraits on the coins

would change until the reign of the Emperor Probus, when the last addition was made. Whether the officer died naturally or was killed we do not know, but his hoard was left untouched.

The Bramley coins also show the unsettled and disturbed state of the Roman Empire during the period of their mintage. Of the eighteen persons whose portraits are shown on the coins, fourteen died violent deaths, one died of plague, another in captivity, and two only died natural deaths; but the latter resigned the purple, and retired into private life, after exercising the imperial power a very short time.

In many finds of Roman coins there are specimens of the coinage of mints in widely-separated parts of the empire, for instance, in the "Stanley find"¹ there were coins minted as widely apart as Alexandria, Treves, Arles, and London, whereas in the Bramley find, although no mint marks are struck on the coins, with one exception the emperors named on the coins exercised their rule over Gaul and Britain, in some cases together with the entire Roman Empire, others having imperial power over these provinces only. The one exception is Æmilianus, who was proclaimed emperor in Moesia, and of whom there is only one coin in the hoard. We may, I think, safely agree that all the coins in the find, with the one exception, were struck either in Gaul or Britain.

Another interesting point is that although a great number of the coins are very carelessly struck, the engravers of the obverse die showed in all cases great ability and talent in their work, and on some of the reverse types there are fine specimens of the engraver's art, in contrast with others which are both rudely and barbarously executed. No doubt the higher-class artists were employed to engrave the obverse or principal dies, having on them the "image and superscription"; to the inferior artists and learners were left the engraving of the reverse dies.

Since the death of Mr. J. Verity, his brother, Mr. G. E. Verity, of Roundhay, has presented a very full selection of picked specimens (with the exception of the emperors of which there is only one coin each), consisting of one hundred coins of twelve emperors or cæsars and one empress, to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, where no doubt they will give pleasure to those who are interested in finds of Roman antiquities in the present area of Leeds.

¹ For account, see Thoresby Society's Publications, vol. xv, page 103.

A photographic reproduction of representative coins, showing each emperor whose coins are included in the find, taken by Mr. Henry Crowther from the actual coins, is here given, Plate I showing the obverse and Plate II the reverse of same coin.

142, Woodsley Road,
Leeds.

T. PICKERSGILL.

CATALOGUE OF COINS.

The coins were struck during a period of thirty-eight years, viz., between A.D. 244 and A.D. 282. During that period we have coins having the portraits and giving names and titles of fourteen emperors, three cæsars, and one wife of an emperor.

The following is a list of those represented, the dates being taken from Akerman's *Numismatic Manual*, with the number of coins belonging to each:—

PHILIP, Senr., born A.D. 204 ; proclaimed Emperor A.D. 244 ; killed A.D. 249	1
VOLUSIAN, son of Trebonus Gallus ; Cæsar A.D. 251 ; killed A.D. 254 . . .	1
ÆMILIAN, born A.D. 208 ; proclaimed Emperor in Moesia A.D. 253 ; killed three months after	1
VALERIAN, born A.D. 190 ; Emperor A.D. 253 ; taken prisoner by Persians A.D. 260 ; died in captivity A.D. 263	16
GALLIENUS, born A.D. 218 ; associated in Empire A.D. 253 ; Emperor A.D. 260 ; killed A.D. 268	460
SALONINA, wife of Gallienus ; killed A.D. 268	59
SALONINUS, son of Gallienus, born A.D. 242 ; Cæsar A.D. 253 ; killed A.D. 259	2
POSTUMUS, proclaimed Emperor in Gaul A.D. 257 ; killed A.D. 267 . . .	122
LAELIANUS, usurper in Gaul in time of Gallienus	1
VICTORINUS, associated in Empire by Postumus in Gaul A.D. 265 ; killed A.D. 267	917
MARIUS, usurped the Purple in Gaul A.D. 267 ; killed, it is said, three days after	12
TETRICUS, Senr., Emperor in Gaul A.D. 267 ; resigned the province to Aurelian A.D. 273	787
TETRICUS, Junr., Cæsar in Gaul A.D. 267 ; retired into private life A.D. 273	240
CLAUDIUS II (Gothicus), born A.D. 214 ; Emperor A.D. 268 ; died of the plague A.D. 270	270
QUINTILLUS, brother of Claudius, Emperor A.D. 270 ; killed himself soon after	41
AURELIAN, born A.D. 270 ; Emperor A.D. 270 ; killed A.D. 275 . . .	10
TACITUS, born ; Emperor A.D. 275 ; killed (?) A.D. 276 . . .	11
PROBUS, born A.D. 232 ; Emperor A.D. 276 ; killed A.D. 282 . . .	45
Blundered obverse and reverse	1

TYPES OF THE EMPERORS REPRESENTED IN THE BRAMLEY FIND OF COINS.



DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIOUS OBVERSES AND REVERSES OF THE
COINS FOUND AT BRAMLEY, WITH THEIR TITLES AND LEGENDS.

PHILIP, Senr.

- Plate I, No. 1. *Obverse*: Head to right, with radiated crown,
IMP. M. IUL. PHILIPPUS AUG.
,, II, No. 1. *Reverse*: Female figure to left, with cornucopia,
ANNOA. AUGG.

VOLUSIAN.

- Plate I, No. 2. *Obv.*: Head to right, with radiated crown,
IMP. C. AUG. VIB. VOLUSIANO AUG
,, II, No. 2. *Rev.*: Figure of Peace to left, with olive branch, PAX. AUG.

AEMILIANUS.

- Plate I, No. 3. *Obv.*: Head to right, with radiated crown,
IMP. AEMILIANUS PIUS AUG.
,, II, No. 3. *Rev.*: Figure of Diana, with bow and arrow to left,
DIAIAE VICTRI.

VALERIANUS.

- Plate I, No. 4. *Obv.*: Head to right, with radiated crown,
IMP. C.P. LIC. VALERIANUS P.P. AUG.
,, II, No. 4. *Rev.*: Two standing figures facing, RESTITUORI.
Standing female figure to left, with cornucopia,
ANNOA. AUGG.
,, ,, ORIENS. AUGG.
,, ,, LAETITIA AUGG.

GALLIENUS.

- Obv.*: Head to right, curly beard, and radiated crown,
IMP. C.P. LIC. GALLIENUS P.P. AUG.
Plate I, No. 5. ,, ,, IMP. GALLIENUS P.P. AUG. GERM.
,, I, No. 6. ,, ,, GALLIENUS AUG.
,, ,, IMP. GALLIENUS P.P. AUG.
,, ,, IMP. GALLIENUS AUG.
Rev.: Standing figure, facing, LAETITIA AUG.
Plate II, No. 5. Standing figure to left, PROVIDENTIA AUGG.
,, ,, FORTUNA REDU.
,, ,, PROVI. AUG.
,, ,, with olive branch, PAX. AUG.
,, ,, ORIENS. AUG.
,, ,, with cornucopia,
LIBERAL AUG.
,, ,, with spear, SECURIT . .
Seated figure to left, SECURITAS AUG.
,, ,, with cornucopia, FORT REDU .
Armed figure to left, with shield and spear,
VIRTUS AUG.
Figure of Justice, with balance, AEQUITAS AUG.
Winged figure of Victory to left, VICTORI AUG.
Standing figure to left, AETERNITAS AUG.
Female figure to left, IND . . AUG.

	Figure of Jupiter to left,	IOVI D. ENIUT.
	Facing figure, with globe in hand,	AETERN. AUG.
	Facing female figure of Piety,	PIETAS AUG.
	Facing figure of Jupiter, with fulmen,	
		IOVI CONSERVATOR.
	Female figure to left,	ABUNDENTIA AUG.
	Armed figure to left of Mars,	MARTI PHELERO.
	Facing figure, with standards in each hand,	
		FIDES MILITUM.
	Figure of deer to right,	DIANNE COMS. AUG.
	„ „ left,	„
Plate II, No. 6.	„ stag, with long horns to left,	„
	„ with long single horns to right,	„
	„ „ left,	„
	„ with short horns to right,	„
	„ lion to left,	LIDEOOP. COMS. AUG.
	„ leopard to left,	LIDD.
	„ goat (male), to left,	IOVI COMS. AUG.
	„ hippocampus (sea-horse) to right,	
		MEDIOL. COMS. AUG.
	„ centaur to left,	APOLLINI COM. AUG.
	„ „ right,	„
	„ Apollo, with lyre,	. . . COMS. AUG.
	„ winged horse to right,	SOLI COMS. AUG.

SALONINA.

Plate I, No. 8.	<i>Obv.</i> : Head to right, with coronet head-dress,	
		COR. SALONINA. AUG.
„ I, No. 7.	„ „	SALONINA. AUG.
„ II, No. 7.	<i>Rev.</i> : Standing female figure, with spear,	IUNO. REGINA.
	„ „	VESTA.
	„ figure, sacrificing at altar,	PIETAS.
	„ female to left, veiled,	PUDICITIA.
	Seated figure to left, veiled,	PUDICITIA.
	Standing female, with two children,	
		FECUNDITAS. AUG.
	„ figure at door of Temple, with uplifted arms.	

Plate II, No. 8.	Deer walking to left,	IUNO. MEONS. AUG.
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SALONINUS.

Plate I, No. 9.	<i>Obv.</i> : Youthful head to right,	
		LIC. COR. SAL. VALERIANUS. IO. CAES.
„ II, No. 9.	<i>Rev.</i> : Standing figure, with spear,	PRINC. IUVENT.

POSTUMUS.

Plate I, No. 10.	} <i>Obv.</i> : Bearded head to right, with radiated crown,	
„ I, No. 11.		
„ I, No. 12.		IMP. C. POSTUMUS. P.P. AUG.
	„ „	IMP. POSTUMUS. P.P. AUG.
	<i>Rev.</i> : Winged figure facing to right,	COS. III.
	„ „	COS. V.

- Plate II, No. 10. Standing figure of Peace, with branch, PAX. AUG.
 „ „ of Health, SALUS. AUG.
 Helmeted „ of Mars, armed, MARTIS. EQUIT.
 Standing „ to left, PROVIDENTIA. AUG.
 Armed figure, with globe and spear,
 P.M. T.R.P. COS. II. P.P.
 Plate II, No. 11. Roman galley, LAETITIA. AUG.
 „ II, No. 12. Standing figure of Hercules, with club and branch,
 HERC. PACI. FERRO.
 Winged Victory to right, foot on globe, shield on
 knee, on shield VOT . . P.M. T.R.P. COS. V. P.P.
 Standing figure on prow of vessel, with rudder,
 CONCORDEO. VIT.

LAELIANUS.

- Plate I, No. 13. *Obv.*: Head to right, with radiated crown,
 IMP. C. LAELIANUS. P.P. AUG.
 „ II, No. 13. *Rev.*: Winged figure of Victory to right, VICTORI. AUG.

VICTORINUS.

- Plate I, No. 14. }
 „ I, No. 15. } *Obv.*: Bearded head to right, with radiated crown,
 „ I, No. 16. } IMP. C. VICTORINUS. P.P. AUG.
 Plate II, No. 15. } *Rev.*: Running figure to right, with torch in hand,
 „ II, No. 16. } INVICTUS. In field Star.
 Standing figure of Peace, with palm, PAX.
 „ „ to right, with helmet and spear,
 VIRTUS. AUG.
 „ „ at altar, PIETAS. AUG.
 „ „ of Justice, with balance, etc.,
 AEQUITAS. AUG.
 Plate II, No. 14. „ „ to left, at altar, SALUS. AUG.
 „ „ to right, Serpent on arm,
 SALUS. AUG.
 „ „ to left, with cornucopia,
 PROVIDENTIA. AUG.

MARIUS.

- Plate I, No. 17. } *Obv.*: Bearded head to right, with radiated crown,
 „ I, No. 18. } IMP. C. MARIUS. P.P. AUG.
 „ II, No. 17. *Rev.*: Standing figure, with cornucopia, S. AUG. FELICITAS.
 „ II, No. 18. Two hands clasped, CONCORDIA. MILETUM.
 Figure of Victory, VICTORI. AUG.

TETRICUS, Senr.

- Plate I, No. 19. *Obv.*: Bearded head to right, with radiated crown,
 IMP. C. TETRICUS. P.P. AUG.
 „ „ IMP. TETRICUS. P.P. AUG.
Rev.: Standing figure to left, HILARITAS. AUG.
 „ „ to left, SALUS. PUBLICA.
 Plate II, No. 19. „ „ SALUS. AUGG.
 Winged figure of Victory, VICTORI. AUG.

- Standing figure at altar, PIETAS. AUG.
 „ „ of Peace, with branch in hand, PAX. AUG.
 „ „ of Hope to left, SPES. PUBLICA.
 Standing figure, LAETITIA. AUGG.
 Armed figure, with sword and spear, VIRTUS. AUGG.
 Winged figure to left, COMES. AUG.
 Young figure of Tetricus, Junr., PRINC. IUVENT.
- Plate I, No. 20. One coin has head facing to left, inscription commencing at right, and reading to left.
 „ II, No. 20. *Rev.*: Standing figure, LAETITIA.
 TETRICUS, Junr.
- Plate I, No. 21. *Obv.*: Youthful head to right, with radiated crown,
 C. DIVES. V. TETRICUS, CAES.
 „ „ „ „ OR C. D.L. TETRICUS. CAES.
- „ I, No. 22. In one case only is the head to left.
 „ II, No. 22. *Rev.*: Figure of Hope standing, SPES. AUGG.
 „ „ SPES. PUBLICA.
 Large-handled vase and instrument, PIETAS. AUGG.
 „ „ PIETAS. AUGUSTOR.
 Standing figure of Peace, with olive branch, PAX. AUG.
 „ „ of Tetricus, Junr., PRINC. IUVENT.
- Plate II, No. 21. Winged figure to left, COMES. AUG.
 CLAUDIUS II (Gothicus).
- Plate I, No. 23. *Obv.*: Head to right, with radiated crown,
 IMP. CLAUDIUS. AUG.
- „ „ „ „ CLAUDIUS. AUG.
 „ „ „ „ DIVO. CLAUDIO.
 Standing figure of Jupiter, IOVI. VICTORI.
 „ „ Equity, AEQUITAS. AUG.
 „ „ Victory, VICTORI. AUG.
 „ „ with cornucopia, ANNONA. AUG.
 „ „ SECURITAS. AUG.
 „ „ SECURIT. AUG.
 „ „ Peace, PAX. AUG.
 „ „ GENIUS. EXERCI.
 „ „ GENIUS. AUG.
 „ „ AETERN. AUG.
 „ „ Happiness, FELICITAS. AUG.
 „ „ „ „ FELIC. TEMPO.
 „ „ LAETITIA. AUG.
 „ „ to right, with palm branch.
 No legend.
- Plate II, No. 23. *Rev.*: Military figure to left, with
 spear and olive branch, VIRTUS. AUG.
 Figure of eagle in centre, OMS. EC.
- Plate II, No. 24. Altar, CONSECRATIA.

QUINTILLUS.

- Plate I, No. 25 *Obv.*: Head to right, with radiated crown,
IMP. C.I. AUR. C.L. QUINTILLUS. AUG.
Rev.: Standing figure to left, SECURIT. AUG.
,, ,, Fortune, FORTUNA. REDUX.
,, ,, AETERNIT. AUG.
,, ,, Peace, PAX. AUGUST.
Plate II, No. 25. ,, ,, fully armed, MARTI. P . . .
,, ,, with rudder, AETITIE. AUG.
,, ,, with sword, PROV. AUG.

AURELIAN.

- Plate I, No. 26. *Obv.*: Head to right, with radiated crown,
IMP. AURELIANUS AUG.
,, II, No. 26. *Rev.*: Two figures facing, IOVI CONSERVATORI.

TACITUS.

- Plate I, No. 27. *Obv.*: Bearded head to right, with radiated crown,
IMP. C.L. TACITUS AUG.
,, ,, IMP. C.M. C.L. TACITUS P.P. AUG.
,, II, No. 27. *Rev.*: Standing figure, with caducius in right hand,
and cornucopia, TEMPORUM. FELICITAS.
,, ,, of Peace, with olive branch,
PAX. AETERNA.

PROBUS.

- Plate I, No. 28. *Obv.*: Head to right, with radiated crown, armour on
shoulder, IMP. C. PROBUS. P.F. AUG.
Rev.: ,, ,, no armour, IMP. C.M. AUR. PROBUS. AUG.
Standing figure to right,
Justice, with balance, AEQUITAS. AUG.
,, Hope, with branch, SPES. AUG.
,, Peace, with olive branch, PAX. AUG.
Plate II, No. 28 ,, Plenty, with cornucopia,
ABUNDENTIA. AUG.
,, Piety figure at altar, PIETAS. AUG.
,, Happiness, TEMPORE. FELICITI.
Figure of Mars, with helmet and spear, MARS : VICTOR.
,, ,, COMES. AUG.

AN ACCOUNT OF ROMAN COINS FOUND IN THE DISTRICT AROUND LEEDS, SUPPLIED BY MR. AQUILA DODGSON AND OTHERS.

In 1697, a number of Roman coins and moulds were found at Lingwell Gate, near Rothwell. (Camden's *Britannia*, vol. iii, p. 40, incorrectly quoted by Parsons' *Annals of Leeds*, p. 94.)

At Cookridge, near Leeds, in 1708, "about twenty Roman coins were ploughed up in a field of Esquire Arthington's.

The servants would only confess to about twenty." The oldest was one of Domitian; others were of Nerva and Trajan, the rest of Hadrian, almost illegible. Later Thoresby received from this find one of Vitellius, one of Titus, three of Trajan, three of Nerva, and one of Hadrian. (See *Thoresby: His Town and Times*, vol. i, p. 433; Bowman's *Reliquiæ Antiquæ Ebor.*, p. 41; Parsons' *History of Leeds*, i, 22.) Thoresby had 1,090 Roman coins and medals in his collection, of which 55 were given to him.

In a footnote to the Catalogue of Coins in Thoresby's Museum, Dr. Whitaker (after mentioning a find of Roman medals near Barcroft, in the township of Cliviger, in 1764) states that "about the month of October, 1769, was found near Elland Hall an earthen vessel, containing several hundred coins of the small brass, chiefly of Carausius, the two Tetrici and Victorini, and Claudius Gothicus, with one of Gallienus. None of the reverses were uncommon."

"The next is, perhaps, the noblest Discovery ever made in Roman Britain. March 7th, 1775, as a Farmer was making a Drain in a Field at Morton Banks, near Bingley, he struck upon the Remains of a Copper Chest, about twenty inches beneath the Surface, which contained nearly one hundred Pound weight of Roman Denarii. There was also in the Chest a silver Image (I have not learned of what Deity) about six Inches long. They include every Emperor from Nero to Pupienus, Pertinax and Didius Julianus only excepted, together with many Empresses, and a great Variety of Reverses."

After mentioning a find of Denarii at Chatburn, in the parish of Whalley, Dr. Whitaker remarks that "great Deposits of Coin like these are never found in or near Roman Stations, but almost always near some Line of March, where sudden surprises might be expected. On the contrary, within the Precincts of the greater Stations, small brass is found scattered in such Profusion that it can scarcely be conceived not to have been sown like Seed, by that provident and vain-glorious People as an Evidence to future ages of their Presence and Power in the remoter Provinces" (Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 2nd Ed., Museum Thoresbyanum, p. 1, footnote.)

Dr. Whitaker, in *Loidis and Elmete*, mentions finds of Roman coins at Castleford by Dr. Stukeley and himself, and at Cleckheaton by Dr. Richardson.

1770. Extract of a letter from Addingham, Oct. 16:—
 “There was found very lately, in a rock near this place, by a workman digging stones for the intended Canal, a piece of roman gold coin, of very great antiquity, bearing the impression of the head of the Emperor Claudius, the 5th from Julius Cæsar; on one side of the Emperor’s head, in very legible characters, CLAVDIVS CAES; there are various letters on the other side, which, the short time I had to inspect it, would not allow me to explain; the reverse bears the resemblance of a female, not unlike some of our halfpence, with the inscription, CONSTANTIAE on one side, and on the other, AVGVSTI . . .”

(*The Leeds Intelligencer*, vol. xvii, Oct. 23, 1770.)

[The type on the reverse of this coin is a female seated; in her right hand a patera; in her left a cornucopia.]

At Lingwell Gate, 3 March, 1821, a great number of clay moulds was turned up by a ploughman, in which the coin had been cast, and four crucibles in which the metal had been melted. Similar antiquities have occasionally been found on the same site during the space of a hundred years. (Parsons’ *History of Leeds*, i, p. 22. See also an article by William Boyne in Bowman’s *Reliquiæ Antiquæ Eboracenses*, p. 41.)

At Wakefield Outwood, in 1822, a piece of Roman pottery was disclosed in digging up a field, filled with an immense quantity of copper coins of Constantine the Great, his sons Constans, Constantius, and Crispus, and of Licinius and Maxentius. (Parsons’ *History of Leeds*, i, p. 22.)

In 1864, Mr. Thomas Wright obtained from a cottager at Barwick-in-Elmet two Roman coins of the time of Constantine, much worn, as though they had been long in circulation. He remarked that Roman coinage, especially those of Constantine, remained long in circulation. He gave the coins to the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society’s Museum. (Lecture on the “Early History of Leeds,” by Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., 1864.)

At Stanley, about seven miles away from Leeds, in October, 1905, a ploughman cut off the top of an earthen jar, in which were found about 7,000 third brass Roman coins, in good condition, apparently never having been in circulation. Particulars of about 5,000 of these are given in a previous paper in the Thoresby Society’s publications, vol. xv, p. 103.

1902. At Thorpe-on-the-Hill, near Wakefield, in a quarry belonging to Messrs. Pawson Bros., a small hoard of Roman

coins was found eighteen inches below the surface. It is feared many were wheeled away before they were recognised as coins; nineteen were recovered, of these eleven were silver denarii and eight first and second brass. They belong to six consecutive reigns, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian.

In 1909, in laying out the cemetery at Horsforth, three silver coins, or rather potin, were found in a deep drain, and are now in the Leeds Museum. They are as follows:—

- (1) Roman denarius, Gordianus III, A.D. 238.

Obv.: IMP. GORDIANVS PIVS FEL. AVG. Radiated head of the Emperor to right.

Rev.: IOVI STATORI. A nude figure standing, the hasta in right hand.

- (2) Roman denarius, Trajanus Decius, A.D. 249–251.

Obv.: IMP. C.M.Q. TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG. Head to right, with radiated crown.

Rev.: DACIA. Robed figure to left, holding a staff, on which is the head of an ass.

- (3) Roman denarius, Valerianus, A.D. 254–260.

Obv.: IMP. C.P. LIC. VALERIANVS. AVG. Head to right, radiated.

Rev.: APOLLINI. PROPVG. Apollo as an archer, nude.

Recently a silver denarius of Trajan was found on the site of the new bridge at Ilkley by the Rev. T. T. Smith; a second brass of Nero was found at Castleford by Mr. Lorenzo Padgett; and three silver denarii of Gordianus III, Trajanus Decius, and Licinius were found at Bramley. These coins are in the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.

About twenty other Roman coins were found on the site of the new bridge at Ilkley, of about six different kinds.



BUST OF JOHN THORESBY IN LEEDS PARISH CHURCH.

John Thoresby.

JOHN THORESBY, a photograph of whose bust is here presented, was the son of John Thoresby, of Kirkgate, Leeds, clothier, the Alderman of Leeds in 1646, and was born there on the 18th day of February, 1625-6. He married Ruth, daughter of Ralph Idle, of Bulmer, 16th April, 1651, and was father of the Antiquary and fourteen other children. He was a Presbyterian, and at the outbreak of the Civil War he joined the army under Fairfax, eventually attaining the rank of an officer. He was present at the battle of Marston Moor, and was "one of the few that rallied and stayed upon the field till the victory turned to their own side." He was a collector of coins, and purchased a collection from Lord Fairfax's executors for £185, which afterwards formed part of the collection of his son Ralph. He recorded his pedigree at Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire in 1666. On the 30th October, 1679, after having performed his accustomed exercise of Family Prayer, and expounding a portion of Scripture with more than usual energy, he retired to rest, and in the morning was found dead upon his knees. Dr. Whitaker remarks that he appears to have been extremely beloved by many more than the members of his own family, and a friend, Mr. Theodore Bathurst, honoured his memory with a poetical eulogy, which Dr. Whitaker printed in the 2nd edition of the *Ducatus Leodiensis*.

In the Leeds Parish Church there is a marble monument to his memory, which is surmounted by the bust. The inscription on the monument is as follows:—

M. S.

Juxta in pace requiescit
quod mortale fuit

JOHANNIS THORESBY, gen.,
Thoresbeiorum de Thoresby Comitatus Eborac.

Antiquae, quâ ortus est, familiae
Ornamenti ;

Historiarum & Antiquitatum peritissimi,
Viri, si quis alius

ob exemplarem & vere primaevam pietatem
 Venustam morum Comitatem
 fervidam erga omnes charitatem
 Deo & hominibus dilectissimi
 Cujus
 Pijssimam & bene praeparatam animam
 Mors repentina non abripuit sed
 Caelo reddidit

xxxi. Octob. Anno { Salutis MDCLXXIX.
 Aetatis suae LIV.

Upon a pedestal an escutcheon of six coats, viz.:—

1. Argent a chevron between 3 lions rampant Sable, armed and langued Gules [THORESBY].
2. Barry of eight, Argent and Gules, over all a fleur de lis Sable [? GARRISTON or GERTHISTON].
3. Argent, an eagle displayed (the wings downward) Azure, beaked and membered Gules [BARDEN].
4. Gules, a bend Argent [probably QUIXLEY].
5. Argent, 2 bars Azure, in chief 3 escallops of the second [ERRINGTON].
6. The paternal coat as the first.

The crest, a lion rampant Sable, supporting a battle-axe Or. (*Ducatus Leod.*, p. 48.) The quarterings are apparently taken from the monument of Henry Thoresby of Thoresby (*Ibid.*, p. 78.)

The following entries referring to the monument are taken from Thoresby's *Diary*, edited by the Rev. Joseph Hunter:—

1710. July 25. With Mr. Carpenter about the monument for my dearest father; left his picture and a model with him.
1711. April 19. With Mr. Carpenter, beginning the model of a bust, for my honoured father's monument.
1711. May 28. Went to Mr Carpenter's about the monument; lodged there [York].
1712. March 3. Was all day at church, with Mr. Carpenter, setting up a monument for my honoured and dear father.

There is a sketch of the monument in the *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 1st edition, p. 48. Andrew Carpenter, of London, was the sculptor of the statue of Queen Anne, formerly on the front

of the Moot Hall, in Leeds, but now in the Leeds Fine Art Gallery. He may probably be identified with Carpentière who occurs in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

John Thoresby's accounts as treasurer for the pensions for poor maimed soldiers are printed in the Thoresby Society's publications, vol. ii, p. 152. Further particulars respecting him appear in Dr. Whitaker's preface to the *Ducatus*, 2nd edition; Thoresby's *Diary*, ed. Hunter; D. H. Atkinson's *Ralph Thoresby: His Town and Times*, vol. i. For the Thoresby pedigree, see Thoresby Society's publications, vol. ix, p. 112, and the *Genealogist*, New Series, vol. xix, p. 42. Letters written by John Thoresby appear in "Letters from the Stowe MSS." in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xiv, p. 422. The inscriptions on brasses to the memory of him and his wife appear in Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, p. 48.

G. D. L.

Poems of "Pendavid Bitterzwigg."

[A Satire on Leeds of the Eighteenth Century.]

THE following poems are believed to have been written by the Rev. Francis Fawkes, who was born at Warmsworth, near Doncaster, in the year 1720. He was a poet and divine; scholar of Jesus College, Cambridge, 1742; M.A., 1745. He was curate of Bramham, and published *Bramham Park* in 1745, anonymously. He translated Theocritus and other classical writers, and composed "The Brown Jug," a popular comic song. He married Miss Purrier, of Leeds, about 1760, and died in Kent, 26 August, 1777. His life appears in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Chalmers, in his "Works of the English Poets," 1810, states that Fawkes was educated at Leeds under the care of the Rev. Mr. Cookson, vicar of that parish, and that he left Bramham for a curacy at Croydon in 1754. He was also a pupil at Bury Grammar School. (See "John Lister, Master of Bury Grammar School," by John Lister, M.A., in the publications of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, vol. xxviii.)

Although the book is not dated, it was published in 1751, and the following advertisement of its publication appeared in the *Leeds Mercury* of 5 March in that year:—

"This Day is published [Price One Shilling] Three Original Poems; Being the Posthumous Works of Pendavid Bitterzwigg, Esq: To which is added, the very remarkable Last Will and Testament of that well-known Author. Printed for T. Carman, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, London; and may be had of S. Howgate, Bookseller in Leedes; and Jo: Lord at Wakefield."

The print from which this copy is taken is now very scarce, and is the only one which the writer has either seen or heard of. It contains MS. notes identifying the persons, etc., referred to, which are here either printed in the margin or in square brackets in the text.

Bound in the same volume is "A Pastoral Poem by Pendavid Bitterzwigg, Jun., Esq." London, 1765, in which local persons are also identified by MS. notes, so probably all the notes were added since that date.

G. D. L.

THREE
ORIGINAL POEMS;

BEING THE

Posthumous WORKS

OF

PENDAVID BITTERZWIGG, Esq.;

To which is added,

The very remarkable Last WILL and TESTAMENT
of that well-known AUTHOR.

Tuta frequensque via est, per amici fallere nomen:

Tuta frequensque licet sit via, crimen habet.

Ov. Ar. Am.

——— *Non, si male nunc, & olim*

Sic erit: ———

HOR. Lib. ii. Ode 10.

OXFORD,

Printed for T. CARNAN in St. Paul's Church-Yard; and may
be had of the Booksellers at York, Leeds, and Wakefield.

[Price One Shilling.]

(iii)

PREFACE.

THE principal part of mankind are born with so much
curiosity, that we are seldom easy till we have been able to
collect some circumstances, concerning an author whose works we
have read. By perusing his writings we become, as it were, in some

A 2

measure

(iv)

measure acquainted with him; and, if he happens to entertain
us, we naturally grow as anxious to know something of his
history, as we thirst after that of any extraordinary character
we meet with in public life. Therefore, that the *inquisitive*
reader may not remain entirely in the dark, and that your
preface-skipppers may not have many useless pages to turn over,
I will endeavour to oblige the *former*, by telling them as much
as I think necessary for them to know; but, out of regard
to the *latter*, it shall be done laconically.

Pendavid

(v)

Pendavid Bitterzwigg, by what we are able to discover, appears to have descended from *Adam*; and to have had his birth in this Kingdom. His parents, how strange soever it may seem, were, *bona fide*, a *man* and a *woman*: nor is it less certain, that he himself was a *human creature*. His life, like that of most other men, was a mix'd jumble of trouble and ease, virtue and vice, wisdom and folly, joy and sadness. In his conversation with the world, he met with some *friendship* and much *ingratitude*. His works were wrote with a *pen* and

(vi)

and *ink*: and he liv'd as long as he was permitted by death: who, on the 15th of *November*, 1750, in the borrowed shape of a Barrister, brought him, with the point of a conceal'd poniard, to the ground. The honourable gentleman, indeed, took great care to see him properly, and deeply interr'd: yet, notwithstanding his special care and goodness, 'tis very confidently whispered, that my friend *Pendavid* hath been seen to walk several times since. Nay some of his female acquaintance are bold enough to affirm, that they have had palpable demonstration

(vii)

monstration of his existence, and that there is an actual resurrection of the flesh; believing him to be yet in a natural state. But as this is a matter of dispute among the learned, I must desire to be excused speaking positively on either side.

(I)

A I R E,*

An EPISTLE to

Sir W[ILLIAM] M[ILNER], Bart.

COME, my Sir *William*, leave the busy world;
 Let ev'ry flutt'ring sail of life be furl'd;
 Relax, awhile, the sinews of your days,
 And hover calmly till I gather bays.

* *Aire*, a considerable river in the principality of *Wales*.

If man needs play-things, as in ancient times, 5
Be yours, for once, the gingling toy of rhimes.

Ver. 5. *If man needs, &c.*] Alluding to such stars of antiquity, who are said to have amus'd themselves with gathering of shells, catching of butterflies, &c.

B

What,

(2)

What if we be so far remov'd from Court ?
We have our pastimes, and our rural sport.
What, if we have no opera, play, or ball ?
Yet we are happy, and we know it, all. 10
Nor is our blissful life to you unknown,
Who yearly taste the sweets of *A—p[l]et[o]n* :
Wisely retiring from a world of noise,
To drink more pleasing, philosophic joys.
Mount with me then, imagination's wing, 15
And hear an infant poet try to sing.

All nature smil'd, and every wind was still,
When, by the verge of yon' cloud-cover'd hill,
Beneath o'er-hanging rocks, in peaceful shade,
I saw poor *Aire*, in pensive posture laid. 20
Her arm she lean'd upon a marble urn,
And, drooping, seem'd in silent mood to mourn.
Her marble urn a silver stream distill'd,
That, underneath, a spreading bason fill'd ;

Ver. 10. *And we know it, all.*] *Sua si bona norint.* VIRG.

On

(3)

On whose bright surface, beauteously serene, 25
Six floating swans, of snowy plume, were seen.

Lo ! now the sorr'wing nymph up, gently, rears
Her comely mein, bedew'd with falling tears ;
Which, from her cheeks, she wipes with jetty hair :
Nor *Venus*' self seem'd more divinely fair, 30
When to the throne of *Jove*, the lovely dame,
Weeping the fate of poor *Æneas*, came.

Half leaning on a taper cypress wand,
Behold her rise, and becken with her hand.
The willing swans, in swift obedience, all 35
Skim t'wards the urn, obsequious to her call.

Now, graceful moving, view the charming fair,
 Whose azure mantle sweeps the mossy stair,
 As down she comes. And now with silken strings,
 Her swans she binds, beneath their lifted wings. 40

Ver. 30. *Nov Venus, &c.*]

Atque illum tales jactantem pectore curas,
 Tristior, & lacrymis oculos suffusa nitentes,
 Alloquitur *Venus* :———

B 2

Caparison'd,

(4)

Caparison'd, their hov'ring pinions fell,
 And straight she link'd 'em to her ample shell :
 A car like that her blue-eye'd parent guides,
 Compelling winds, and governing the tides.
 Her milky steeds in well-known order float 45
 And now she steps into her scallop-boat.
 Her scallop-boat impress'd the liquid floor ;
 Expanding eddies circle to the shore.
 A flowing mantle o'er her shoulders flung,
 She wav'd her wand, and strait they mov'd along.
 Not all the pomp that mortal eye hath seen, 51
 Not even that of *Egypt's* beauteous queen,
 When, up the *Cydnus*, sail'd the charming whore,
 In rich profusion, to her paramour ;

Ver. 44. If perchance, any of *Æolus's* particular friends should object to *Neptune's* having aught to do with the winds : let him begin at the 124th line of the first book of *Virgil's* *Æneis*, and read to the 144th.

Ver. 53. *When up the Cydnus, &c.*] For a short but elegant description of which, see the octavo edition of the *Universal History*, page 461.

Could

(5)

Could ever yield a prospect half so fair, 55
 As did the plain magnificence of *Aire*.

By flocks and herds, and many a scatter'd vill,
 By the rude skirt of many a gloomy hill,
 Meand'ring thro' the meads of many a dale,
 Pleas'd with the sweets of many a fertile vale, 60
 She pass'd. Lo here, a lofty hanging wood ;
 And there a ruin'd Gothic Abbey stood,
 O'ergrown with ivy ; long by war subdu'd ;
 How stately once ! O strange vicissitude !
 In her left hand, a silver cask she held, 65
 With various seed of various bloomage fill'd :

These, as she sails, her gen'rous bounty yields,
Profusely scatter'd thro' the fost'ring fields.

But now, the busy town she saught drew near,
And all its crowded mansions 'gan appear. 70
Each holy fabric mounts it's awful crest,
And seems to claim submission from the rest.
But how th' astonish'd, raptur'd, people stare,
To see the wond'rous vehicle of *Aire* !

The

(6)

The silken reigns, that curb'd her downy steeds, 75
She drew, they paus'd, and thus she spake, O *L[ee]ds*,
My prime, best lov'd, long my peculiar town !
Thro' distant realms, by distant people, known.
Where stands remoteness hath not heard thy name,
And Golden Fleece of universal fame ? 80
A fleece, as golden and as much renown'd
As that *Æetes*, Colchian monarch, own'd.
Ah may no Argonauts, with feign'd pretence,
Led by some *Jason*, ever steal thee hence !
Had I been *Phasis*, all the lords of *Greece* 85
Should ne'er have triumph'd with my country's Fleece :
Like *Xanthus*, river of eternal fame,
Fearless of *Juno's* rage, or *Vulcan's* flame,
My foaming waves or should have drown'd their chief,
Or drove, successful back, the Grecian thief. 90

Ver. 80. *And Golden Fleece.*] The town's Arms.

82. *As that Æetes, &c.*] See the beginning of the 7th book of *Ovid's* *Met.*

85. *Had I seen Phasis, &c.*] A river of *Colchis*.

87. *Like Xanthus.*] *Homer's Iliad.* Book xxi.

O

(7)

O storeful hive ! by me thus wealthy made ;
For thee I leave my urn and peaceful shade :
My grot I leave for thee, and shadow'd seat ;
My silent haunts and undisturb'd retreat.
To save thy fortunes from impending death, 95
The gods, in pity, gave your river breath ;
And bade me haste, before it was too late,
To warn ye of the fixt decrees of fate.

Propitious gods ! to feel the woes of *Aire*
 And kindly make your happiness their care ! 100
 As in my grot I lately sat reclin'd,
 Shaddow'd from heat, and shelter'd from the wind,
 Thro' the blue ether my uplifted eyes
 Saw a swift messenger descend the skies.
 Like falling meteor, feather'd *Mercury* fell : 105
 Perch'd on the rock, and thus began to tell.
 Most gentle *Aire* ! from the great gods I come :
 Attend awhile, and thou shalt hear thy doom.
 The story whisp'ring *Eurus* lately blew
 From yonder vill, may prove alas, too true, 110

(8)

Not many suns shall circle thro' the heav'n
 Ere that, to thee, a husband shall be giv'n.
 Haste and direct thy guardians in their choice ;
 They'll surely listen to thy needful voice :
 Tell them, old *Neptune* would not have thee sold,
 As mortal offspring are, merely for gold ; 116
 Say that, I told thee, at the gods request,
 Best is the man that means to guard thee best.
 Oft hast thou seen, in eve of summer's day,
 Close by thy side, a youthful poet stray : 120
 So oft thou paus'd, or slowly mov'd along,
 And grateful listen'd to his plaintive song.
 Thus, while he tun'd to am'rous dirge, his lyre,
 Thy matchless charms set all his soul on fire ;
 And thou, however seeming cold or coy, 125
 Resign'd thy heart a captive to the boy.
 The high indulgent pow'rs on whom ye call
 Approve the flame ; but I must tell thee all.
 Now the celestial deities were met
 In deep consult on bliss, free-will, and fate : 130
 When lo ! *Apollo*, and the tuneful Nine,
 Were seen approach the assembly divine [*sic*].

They

(9)

They gain'd admission for *Apollo*'s sake,
 And to the conclave thus *Urania* spake. 134

Immortal Gods ! of whom we boast our birth ;
 Who govern things in Heav'n and things on earth !
 There lives a meager mortal, low in fame,
 Who, late, essay'd to vindicate the name
 Of *Milton* :—tho' far short of *Milton's* lays,
 We love the poet ; for he sung his praise. 140
 Good was his theme ; nor were we thence afraid
 To lend the youth some little of our aid.
 He, hapless boy (compassionate his sighs !),
 For one of *Neptune's* lovely daughters dies ;
 Who, in return, confesses equal love. 145
 Propitious Gods ! and thou, immortal *Jove* !
 Let not this pair of faithful lovers be
 A second *Orpheus* and *Euridice*.
 Scarce had she ceas'd, when eager *Lyæus* spake :
 Tell mortals what I did for *Orpheus'* sake ; 150

Ver. 138. Alluding to a work not yet publish'd.

C

Remind

(10)

Remind 'em how transfixt *Edonians* stood,
 Shot twisted roots, and rose a spreading wood.
 But now great *Jove* address'd himself to me,
 And thus he spake : Go, feet-wing'd *Mercury*,
 To earth : bid weeping *Aire* wipe off her tears ;
 Say that her plaint, at last, hath reach'd our ears ;
 Tell her to link her swans and haste away,
 And speech her guardians ere the wedding-day ;
 Bid her inform 'em, 'tis the will of *Jove*
 That now they should reward her faithful love ; 160
 Give them this maxim, at the Gods' request,
 " Best is the man that means to guard her best " ;
 Remind 'em of the birth of poetry,
 Sprung from my union with *Mnemosine* ;
 And is not *he* the only laurel'd head 165
 Their little thrifty village ever bred ?
 Now haste thee speedy hence ; but, on thy way,
 Learn what her father, *Neptune*, hath to say.

Ver. 151. *Remind 'em, &c.*] *Ovid's Met.* Book xi. 61.

152. *Twisted root.*] *Torta radice.*

164. *Sprung from, &c.*] *Hesiod Theog.*

E

Swift

(11)

Swift as flash'd lightning, to the earth I flew,
 And hail'd your father, ere I came to you. 170
 Him, when I told, the story of your love,
 And all that pass'd below, and all above ;
 Thus he reply'd (upon his trident leant),
 Go, tell the youth, I give him my consent :
 " Tell them, I would not have my daughter sold,
 " As mortal offspring are, merely for gold."
 He ceas'd.—And now, fair nymph, a kind adieu :
 I wish thee happy.—And away he flew.

Thus the behest of heav'n-sent *Mercury*.
 Now fare ye well, and O remember me ! 180
Remember me ! re-echo'd from the town ;
 And straight she plung'd precipitately down.

Ver. 175. *Tell them, &c.*] If any one should be offended at this kind of repetition, let him read *Homer* and be satisfied.

C 2

THE

(12)

THE

Fox, the Jackall, and Other Beasts.

A

F A B L E .

SINCERITY ! 'tis all a jest ;
 A name, an empty sound at best,
 Believe me, friend, there's no such thing,
 Down to the peasant, from the king :
 Except a little scatter'd seed,
 Sown in the breasts of few indeed,
 And those who have it, God defend 'em !
 For fortune, rarely does befriend 'em :

Who

(13)

Who seldom cares to take the part
 Of open hand, or open heart ;
 But rather crams the greedy pokes
 Of narrow-soul'd designing folks.

'Twas in the days of old king *Saturn*
 That virtue rose without a patron ;
 But in our rusty, iron age,
 However learn'd, or good, or sage,
 Virtue alone (or I'm mistaken)
 Stands little chance to save her bacon.
 You'll say, she is her own reward ;
 Why, so she'd need, or 'twould be hard ;
 For, whatsoever she may crave,
 'Tis often all the food she'll have.
 But you shall hear, to end disputes,
 What pass'd of old amongst the brutes ;
 For *men* of yore disdain'd the crimes
 So frequent grown in modern times.

Far in the wat'ry-waste, there stood
 An *island, shadow'd o'er with wood ;

* England.

Where

(14)

Where human shape was never seen,
 But when their planks have shatter'd been.
 A brutal race, of various kind,
 Was all that providence design'd.
 No matter how, or what the cause,
 They had their government and laws.
 A sage old *Lion fill'd the throne,
 (Who made his people's bliss his own)
 Rais'd to this pinnacle of state
 For being good as he was great.
 But yet, however great or good,
 They might deceive him, if they would :
 For who can see into the breast
 Of cunning man, or cunning beast ?
 A soothing knave may gain his end,
 Till actions prove him not a friend ;
 But, lest I give reflection cable,
 'Tis fit I haste to tell my fable.

* Geo. II.

Forth, from a distant northern *town,
 A Swallow came, to tell the crown,

* Leeds.

The

(15)

† John
Walker,
Esq^r,
Recorder.
‡ Ric^d
Wilson, Esq^r

The †governor had took his bed,
And might, for aught she knew, be dead.
Which, whilst the swallow was relating,
A ‡crafty Fox, who stood in waiting,
Not of the King, but for a place,
*Erst lavish'd forth the monarch's praise,
Then for the void preferment prays.
He talk'd of virtue, honour, faith,
(Which they who know him, know he hath)
Essentials in a governor,
And wish'd the King would but prefer
A beast of merit to the place.
His Majesty (a common case)
Who by appearance judg'd alone,
Mistook the Fox for such a one :
And issu'd forth his high decree,
To make him, what he wish'd to be.
Old Reynard bow'd, and forth he went,
Straight to assume his government.

* Approach'd the throne with cringing pace.

Where,

(16)

Where, soon, he rul'd the feeble town
As if it all had been his own.
Yet, 'twas not with contracted brow,
But with a sort of artful shew
Of lenity : for all his wiles
Were hid beneath deceitful smiles.
He seem'd a friend to every one,
And yet, in truth, was but his own ;
Would pick their pockets with a grace,
And, smiling, stare them in the face :
Nay, what is more, he often would
Persuade 'em 'twas for their own good.
If e'er he chanc'd to meet a *goose,
And wanted one for proper use,
He'd thus address her : " Is that you ?

" My honest goose-cap, how do'st do ?

" Nay, why so shy ? ye are no hens :

" Foxes and Geese were always friends.

* A person of
weak under-
standing.

" I would not hurt a single feather
 " For all temptations put together ;

" It

(17)

" It were unjust to take your lives,
 " Besides, ye know, I keep no knives."
 Then, ere the Goose was half convinc'd on't,
 He'd snap her head off in an instant ;
 And, if the rest were heard to make
 A little noise, or dar'd to quake,
 At being thus destroy'd by dozens,
 He'd smiling say, " Indeed, good cousins,
 " Think as * ye will, ye are my debtor ;
 " 'Tis all, believe me, for the better."

But you may judge of all his tricks,
 His principles and politics,
 From what you (if you'll but attend)
 Shall hear : for, take it from a friend,
 Who wrongs you once (mark well the man)
 Will do't again, if e'er he can.

* ——— Those that write in rhyme still make
 The one verse for the other's sake :
 For one for sense, and one for rhyme,
 I think's sufficient, at one time.

HUD.

D

Not

(18)

Not far from where the Fox was king,
 There bubbl'd up* a wholesome spring ;
 Where daily, at whose mossy brink,
 The vary'd forest came to drink :
 Nor was it but for drink design'd,
 It's uses were of many kind.
 Along it's stream, with loaded tail,
 The busy Beaver us'd to sail :
 For thus he drew his daily food,
 And thus, for building, brought the wood.
 'Twas here the Foxes, once a day,
 Ran retrograde with bunch of hay ;
 To which the fleas would all retire,
 As if their tails had been on fire ;

* River Aire.

But they no sooner gain their scheme
 Than jaws expand, and down they swim.
 So are we mortals oft pursuing,
 With eager stride, our own undoing :
 Thus flying from a temp'ral evil,
 We hurry headlong to the devil.

'Twas

(19)

'Twas here the Otter, lurking sly,
 With sudden plunge, would catch his fry.
 But roguish Apes would often make,
 With pebble-stones, a *duck and drake*,
 And thus bemuddle all the beck.*
 Beside, they say (and they who knew)
 The little Monkeys often threw
 At Beavers, sailing to their station,
 And thus disturb'd the navigation.
 'Twas thence complain'd, and humbly hop'd,
 That such abuses might be stopt.
 A †gen'ral meeting was proclaim'd
 (The time, and place, and all were nam'd)
 To ev'ry beast, of ev'ry quarter,
 That dwelt within a mile of water.
 They came, and, having well resolv'd
 The *pro's* and *con's*, at last resolv'd,

† Navigation
 Meeting.

* *Beck*, a low word, we confess ; but the reader may perhaps have more patience with it when we inform him that 'tis a local one, used to this day in that part of the island here spoken of.

D 2

That

(20)

† Lessees of
 Navigation.

That †guardians should appointed be
 To watch the stream (the number three),
 And keep unlucky Monkeys off it ;
 A place of trust, and eke of profit.
 Fame scarce her trumpet took in hand,
 To blow the news throughout the land,
 But all the world was for the place ;

* *A place of profit*, there's the case.

* We are assur'd, by a very ingenious virtuoso, that this place was, upon a moderate computation, as valuable, to each of the brutes who held it, as a sine cure of one thousand pounds per annum would be to a rational creature.

Wolves, Horses, Oxen, Asses, Sheep,
 Could hardly get a wink of sleep,
 For thinking what a world of joy
 Must needs attend this high employ.
 One would have laugh'd to hear the din,
 And see 'em lash thro' thick and thin,
 Now sunk to earth, and now transported ;
 But most of all, the Fox was courted :
 For 't was imagin'd, all along,
 He'd sway the matter, right or wrong.

Reynard

(21)

Reynard, who ever chanc'd to call,
 Was kindly affable to all.
 If wolves, or sheep, or horses came
 (No matter who, 'twas all the same),
 He'd say, " I've study'd well the case,
 " And think ye proper for the place."
 When Asses went, his answer was,
 " None half so proper as an Ass."

Now, to the Fox, among the rest,
 There came a little foolish beast,
 That seem'd more eager than 'em all ;
 I think men term it a *Jackall.
 Reynard foresaw the little cur
 Was like to make a mighty stir ;
 And, therefore, lest he gain his end,
 Had best be made a special friend :
 Beside as 'twas a busy fool,
 'Twould make a serviceable tool ;
 For here lay, *entre nous*, the rub,
 The place was meant for †Reynard's cub,

* Mr. John
 Berkenhout.

Together

† Mr. Thos
 Wilson.

(22)

Together with a sly old †Ox,
 A rogue, and, *thence*, a friend of Fox.
 They never meant to have a third
 Who might too much have seen, or heard.
 However, thus the little beast
 Would often hear himself address'd,

† Benjⁿ
 Atkinson, a
 Quaker at
 Rawcliffe.

‡ R^d
Wilson,
Esq^r, Jun^r.

With friendly mein and oily tongue,
Of Reynard old, and ‡Reynard young :
" Well, sir, how fares the navigation ?
" You know you have our approbation :
" Indeed so very great our force is,
" That Asses, Wolves, and Sheep, and Horses
" Molest us oft ; some offer *pelf* ; *
" But, Tom, my whelp, and your good self
" Are only fit to be intrusted :
 (And so the matter seem'd adjusted)
" But then, my pretty little cur,
" You bravely must your stumps bestir.

* *Pelf*. This word, in it's vulgar acceptation, would have been very improperly used here : but 'tis also a term in falconry, and signifies the refuse and broken remains of a fowl.

We'll

(23)

" We'll not conclude the thing our own,
" Till we have turn'd o'er every stone.
" Fly to the Buck and to his neighbour,
" With them the matter well belabour.
" But, most of all, we dread the vote
" Of that unsteady thing, the †Goat ;
" Who seems, by what we hear, inclin'd
" To whisk about with ev'ry wind.
" * It is a stupid animal :
" However, visit one and all
" And you shall, for your trouble, be
" Rewarded ; but remember me,
" (The whelp would add) we must be three."

† Sir W^m
Milner.

Bestir his stumps ! Why so he did ;
 (A like bestirring fate forbid)
For Dogs began to whet their jaws,
And, as he ran, th' impatient crows

* The reader is desired to observe, that these are the words of the foxes, and not of our author.

(24)

Would

Would almost perch upon his back,
So low, so lank, so lean, was Jack.
Thus while he trampt it day by day,
His wiser friends would often say,

" Well—Mark the end—You are deceiv'd :
 " But 'tis in vain, we're not believ'd :
 " So please your self, do as you will ;
 " But Foxes will be Foxes still."
 To which he, ever, would reply,
 " My life upon their fealty."

At last, the scythe, and serpent god
 (Obsequious to whose wilful nod,
 Hinds, nobles, kings, and kingdoms, fall ;
 Worlds, suns and planets, stars and all)
 Brought on the great, th' important day
 (I scorn to borrow from a play)
 With low'ring morn, big with the fate
 Of ev'ry anxious candidate.

The little brute and father Fox,
 With both his Whelps, and *honest* Ox,

Were

(25)

Were now conven'd to settle matters,
 As seem'd but meet, at Fox's quarters.
 Thus Jack was held by Reynards fast,
 Befool'd and bubbl'd to the last ;
 Lest, had they seem'd no longer hearty,
 He might have strengthen'd th' other party.

In ample *field* of *snowy Hart
 (That being near the middle part),
 From coldest north, warm south, west, or east,
 Assembl'd sat the savage forest.
 But, ere they buckl'd to election,
 Up starts the Fox, with this objection :
 " In all this crowd, with all this pother,
 " We still must one confound another ;
 " Except the multitude were less,
 " Who can proceed to business ?
 " 'Twere better, if some few of honour
 " Were singl'd out into a corner :
 " Name one of ev'ry species, we,
 " I make no doubt, shall soon agree."

* White
 Hart,
 Wakefield.

E

The

(26)

The list'ning world his scheme approving,
 Soon to the corner they were moving.
 The Fox, afraid of every vote,
 Thus, as they went, address'd the Goat :
 " Good lord ! Sir Goat, how well you look !
 " But ere we reach the fatal nook,
 " They say you've got a young attendant,
 " A little troublesome appendant.
 " I have a scheme, no matter what,
 " Oblige me but, and vote for that,
 " Exert your lungs and be but fervent,
 " And we'll employ him as a servant."
 The Goat reply'd thus, half enrag'd,
 " No, Mr. Fox, I am engag'd
 " In honour, to another party :
 " I would not do a thing so dirty."

" In honour ! so am I—a jest :
 " I took you for a wiser beast ;
 " What's honour, to one's interest ? "

}

" Why

(27)

" Why that is true—at your request,
 " Well—well—and so they join'd the rest."

Now were their heads together laid,
 When Reynard thus, rose up and said :
 " It is my will, and that's my law,
 " (Who standeth not of me in awe ?)
 " That ye should drop the thought of *three* ;
 " And, also, that ye straight agree
 " To choose my whelp ; him ye must have,
 " In colleague with the Ox, my slave.
 " Thus may my offspring dwell at ease,
 " And I shall lord it as I please.
 " Ye know, I am a subtle creature,
 " Shrewd, and implacable, by nature.
 " As to forgiveness, I have none ;
 " In that, my heart's a very stone.
 " That, should ye slight me for a stranger,
 " Your lives and safeties were in danger."

Like tender Ducklings, when they spy
A kite voracious hov'ring nigh,

E 2

A tremor

(28)

A tremor shook their feeble joints :
He smoak'd the jest, and straight appoints.

Some beasts might rage and curse their fate ;
But all was over, 'twas too late :
And others might in silence moan ;
But all was now the Fox's own.
Poor little Jack, in little glee,
Asham'd of his credulity,
Ran speedy home, with anger pale,
Like to a dog that's burnt his tail.
There met him, as he pensive ran,
A *gen'rous Steed, who thus began :
" Well Jack—I read it in your face.
" Who can be sorry for your case ?
" You have been told a thousand times,
" Of this old Fox's tricks and crimes.
" Be wiser for't, and ne'er complain ;
" But learn to trust a Fox again."

* Mr
Richard
Ayrton.

A
SELECT SPEECH
FROM THE
TRAGEDY
OF
OCCIDENTALLUS,
OR THE
POWER of the BLACK ART.

Which Dramatic Performance was left unfinished by the
untimely death of the Author.

(31)

A

SELECT SPEECH

From the TRAGEDY of

OCCIDENTALLUS.

Scene opens, and discovers our hero, reclin'd upon a couch, asleep ; a book and a candle upon the table—time, the dead of night. After having laid long enough to raise the expectation of the audience, by a short silence, he starts from his couch as like Mr. Garrick in Richard the Third as he is able, and utters the following speech.

HOLD—on thy life, I charge thee curb that rank
 Empoison'd hell-strung instrument. Thou ly'st.
 Call'st thou me *friend*? By the great Gods thou ly'st.
 Blast

(32)

Blast thy pernicious tongue, unhallow'd fiend !
 Thou poor ungrateful sycophant !—Oh Heav'n ! 5
 Am I awake ? Hark——sure it was some voice ;
 Or did the door unbar ? Methought I heard
 It twine upon its grating hinge—soft—soft—
 My sad distemper'd soul—I did but dream.
 The dim-grown taper yields an equal flame, 10
 That else had wav'd oblique ; and all seems peace.
 'Twas but a fiend of fancy. Gracious Heav'n !
 How strange a thing is man—Like a poor bark
 From friendly port far-off ; amid' the rage
 Of hollow seas and dark enfuriate sky, 15
 He drives, the sport of ev'ry wind or wave.

Ver. 14. Fluctibus erigitur, cœlumque, æquare videtur
 Pontus : & inductas aspergine tangere nubes.

Ovid. Met.

15. ———— Caret ignibus æther :

Cæaque nox premitur tenebris hyemisque suisque.
 Id.

(33)

Now

Now see th' aspiring ship heav'd gently up,
 And, mounting, seem as if it aim'd at Heav'n :

Alass, buoy'd up but to increase it's fall.
 The swoln, deceitful base, on which it rose, 20
 Now breaks, and down she drops, as deep as hell.
 Thus, are we lash'd and buffeted by fortune :
 Not e'en secure in sleep ; for, whilst we yield
 To rest our mortal part, the busy soul

Ver. 17. Et modo sublimis veluti de vertice montis
 Despicere in valles, imumque acheronta videtur.
 Ovid. Met.

19. ——— Quicquid in altum
 Fortuna tulit, ruitura levat.
 Sen. Agam.

20. Nunc ubi demissam curvum circumstetit æquor,
 Susplicere inferno summum de gurgite cœlum.
 Ovid. Met.

22. Nempe dat & quodcumque libet fortuna, rapitque :
 Irus & est subito, qui modo Cræsus erat.
 Ovid. Trist.

24. Somnia quæ mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris,
 Non delubra Deum, nec ab æthere numina mittunt,
 Sed sibi quisque facit. Nam quum prostrata sopore
 Urguet membra quies, & mens sine pondere ludit :
 Quicquid luce fuit, tenebris agit.

Petronius.

F

Knows

(34)

Knows no repose ; but breaths eternal life. 25
 Thus, heroes wage ideal toilsome war,
 Clash flaming swords, and urge the mettled steed.
 The statesman plods perferment, or, may-hap,
 His country's weal ; or feels, again the pangs
 Of disappointment : thus the tender heart 30
 Of charity bleeds o'er the orphan's tears
 Of yesterday : and thus, *ingratitude*
 Stabs us afresh, and goads our souls to death.
 Ah ; there's the sting. *Ingratitude !* thou imp
 Infernal ! Gods ! I cou'd have bore 35
 Ten thousand whips of fortune, and have brav'd
 Her keenest lash, but base *ingratitude !*
 That—that—unmans me quite. I am not steel'd
 Against her poison'd shafts—no—'tis too much

Ver. 26. ——— Oppida bello,
 Qui quatit, & flammis miserandas sævit in urbes,
 Tela videt, verasque acies, & funera regum,
 Atque exundantes perfuso sanguine campos.
 Petronius.

31. In noctis spatium miserorum vulnera durant.
 Ibid.

For

(35)

For weak humanity. But now of that 40
 No more. Wou'd I cou'd wipe it from my mind,
 And grave it deep in dark oblivion !
 But 'tis imprest too hard, and will not off,
 Till friendly time shall wear it from my soul.
 Grant but, propitious fate, that I may spin 45
 Life's capillary thread, to warn mankind
 Of this sea-cover'd *flint* : let me but live
 To fix a buoy to this dread rock, that lurks
 Beneath a smooth and glozing surface,
 And I will die in peace. Ah welcome death 50
 Thou awful, yet delightful, minister !
 Whose sharp but friendly and unerring scythe
 Shall one day sever, from our shackl'd souls,
 This canker'd chain of loth'd mortality :
 That, like a weed shorn by the bending hind, 55

Ver. 51. Multo igitur mortem minus ad nos esse putandum,
 Si minus esse potest, quam quod nihil esse videmus.
 Lucret.

55. — Fortes animæ, dignataque nomina cœlo
 Corporibus resoluta suis, terræque remissa
 Huc migrant ex orbe, suumque habitantia cœlum
 Æthereos vivunt annos, mundoque fruuntur.
 Manil.

F 2

Shall

(36)

Shall wither and return again to dust.
 That was a chearful thought : else who cou'd bear
 Life's rugged journey ; or, with patience, view
 Triumphant *vice*, and *virtue* basely trod
 Beneath her feet ; but that the time will come 60
 When death, kind death, shall quite reverse the scene.
 Shrink, sons of mammon ! shudder at the thought !
 Methinks I see your pale and ghastly mein,
 Wan with despondency, and horrid gnaw
 Of conscience-telling guilt. Transfixt ye stand 65
 (Bereft of all your boasted opulence)
 With bristling hair ; for now your *friendly* wiles,
 And policy, deny their wonted aid.

Ver. 65. Exemplo quodcunque malo committitur, ipsi
 Displicet auctori. Prima est hæc ultio, quod se
 Judice, nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis
 Gratia fallacis prætoris vicerit urnam. Juv.

66. Intactis opulentior
 Thesauris Arabum, & divitis Indiæ,
 Cæmentis licet occupes
 Tyrrhenum omne tuis, & mare Ponticum :
 Si figet adamantinos
 Summis verticibus dira necessitas
 Clavos, non animum metu,
 Non mortis laqueis expedit caput.

Hor.

Pro-

(37)

Propitious Heaven ! grant me ne'er to know
 Such *wiles* or *policy* : no, rather deign,
 That I may live obscurely poor, bereft
 Of food or friend, than part with innocence
 To purchase them ! What, if my hopes are fled ?
 And adulating schemes felicitious ?
 My airy castles tumbl'd into naught,
 That two long years had rais'd imaginary ?
 Perhaps omniscient Heav'n observ'd their loose
 And wankle prop, thence wou'd not let me climb
 The pile that might have crush'd me in it's fall :
 Or yet may haply raise some potent friend,
 As far surpassing their sincerity
 As they excel the common race of men

70

75

80

- Ver. 71. Laudo manentem : si celeres quatit
 Pennas, resigno quæ dedit, & meâ
 Virtute me involvo, probamque
 Pauperiem sine dote quæro—————

Hor.

78. ———— Si consilium vis,
 Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus, quid
 Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris.
 Nam pro jucundis aptissima quæque dabunt di.

Juven.

In

(38)

In false professing tongues. Good gracious Heav'n !
 Be merciful to such wide-erring fools ;
 And teach them 'tis impolitic to sin :
 Remind 'em that a gorgeous frontispiece,
 Or high immurement, cannot exclude
 The piercing eye of Heav'n. And O inspire
 Me with a conscious, never-leaving, thought
 Of something after death : nor let me dare
 To stab my own internal monitor,
 Tho' 'twere to gain me worlds—But nature droops,
 I'll to my couch and try to sleep again,

85

90

- Ver. 85. Heu, primæ scelerum caussæ mortalibus ægris
Naturam nescire deum—— Silius.
86. Magni conditor orbis
Huic ex alto cuncta tuenti
Nulla terræ mole resistunt :
Non nox atris nubibus obstat :
Uno mentis cernit in ictu
Quæ sint, quæ fuerint, veniantque. Boeth.
91. Quænam summa boni ? Mens quæ sibi conscia recti.
Bias per Auf.

THE
LAST WILL
AND
TESTAMENT
OF
PENDAVID BITTERZWIGG.

*Inter spem curamque, timores inter & iras,
Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum.
Grata superveniet quæ non sperabitur hora.*

(41)

THE
LAST WILL
OF
PENDAVID BITTERZWIGG.

AH wise poet ! how just a picture hast thou drawn of human life ! Is it not most truly, what he calls it, a mixture of *hope, care, fear, and passion* ? But who would have expected the following line from the pen of a heathen ? *Think every day thy last.* Excellent precept ! Were it possible to persuade mankind into this way of *thinking*, it must immediately put a stop to all kinds of vice. For, where is the wretch so abandon'd, that would dare to sin, if he thought he must die before to-morrow ? Then, by way of inducement, the poet very pleasingly

observes, That if we should happen to be disappointed, tho' we should live to begin another day, that day, says he, will seem more grateful,
G

(42)

ful, you will enjoy it the more, because it was unexpected.

In this humour then, and (to my own thinking) in my perfect senses, do I *Pendavid Bitterzwigg*, of the parish of St. *Winefrid*, in *Flintshire*, in *Wales*, make, and declare this to be my last Will and Testament.

As to my *immortal part*, I do not believe it in my own disposal by Will: if I am not careful to provide for it in the course of my life, how I shall bequeath it at my death will, I am of opinion, signify but little.

Believing that those who were pleas'd to honour me with their friendship during my abode on earth, will not scruple to extend that *friendship* a few paces beyond the grave; I name, and appoint, **Sir Henry Worthy*, Bart †*Jeremy Goodheart*, Esq; * *Sir Henry Ibbotson*. and ‡*Mr. Thomas Trueman*, to be the joint Executors of my will. And thus I give and bequeath to these my worthy friends, † *Jeremiah Dixon*, Esq^r all my goods and chattles whatsoever; to them, I say, their ‡ *Mr Tho^s Lodge*. executors and assigns, in trust only, and for the several uses and benefits hereafter specified.

My lands, houses, horses, oxen, asses, sheep, deer, coaches, post and common chaises, plate, jewels, and gorgeous apparel, of all which I happen to have been depriv'd by a certain blind bitch

(43)

of

of a *goddess, it was always my design to have left to that * *Fortune*. mortal in whom I had experienced the most fidelity; which, upon recollection, I find to be my constant and faithful companion †*Tray*; in whom, during our acquaintance of fifteen † *His dog*. years, I never remember to have perceiv'd the least shy look, coldness, or deviation from the friendship he profess'd; which is more than I can say of any thing human. To him also I would have left my part in the lease of the river *A[ire]*, but that he hath too much honesty and spirit for the place: for which reasons, he would hardly have been approv'd of by the proprietors; and would also, on that account, have been a very disagreeable partner to my surviving brethren. Therefore that all parties may be pleased, I give and bequeath my right

and share in the aforesaid lease, to my old she Ass; who, tho' she may be possess'd of honour enough as the world goes, will, nevertheless, rather sit down with what the avarice of her partners can afford her, than breed any disturbance for the sake of a little gold. Besides, she seems to have little or no suspicion in her temper, and will therefore be a very proper object of imposition: *professions of friendship*, and *quaker's sermons*, will be, to her, all *sincerity*

G 2

and

(44)

and *gospel*. Indeed, I am sorry I have it not in my power to make my Ass a better title to the aforesaid share; for my writings happen, unfortunately, to be in the possession of a certain eminent *lawyer, full famous for the detention of title-deeds: well knowing, that so long as such valuable papers remain in his custody, the parties to whom they belong will not dare, for their own safety, to oppose him, in whatsoever schemes he shall think proper to execute.

* The then Recorder of Leeds.

My library, being too considerable to find room in the shop of any bookseller here (it consisting of near one hundred volumes) I will, that it be sold by way of auction (*Tillotson's Sermons* only excepted) upon a public stage which shall be erected for that purpose, in the market-place: and 'tis my will and desire, that Mr. †*Batavius Sonlove* perform the part of auctioneer; and that he be allow'd eighteen-pence per day, for his pains, till the whole be sold. The money hence arising shall be, by him immediately remitted to ‡*Nic Frog*, for the redemption of his son from slavery. The above excepted *Tillotson's Sermons*, I leave to the §*Rev. Mr. Richard Apropos*; in thankful remembrance of the trouble he was pleas'd to give himself upon my account.

† Mr John Noguier.
‡ His agent in Holland, where his son was sent, being then out of ffavor.
§ *Rev^d Mr Bainbrigge*, then Curate of Chapple-town.

I will,

(45)

I will, that all my pamphlets be given to the pamphlet-club, held on *Thursday* nights at the **Talbot*; of which body I had the honour to be a member.

* In Leeds.

† The said Recorder.

As to my wearing apparel, I bequeath it to old †*Penurius Puzzlewit*, Esq; to be by him sold, for as much as it will bring; to the intent that he may be thence enabled to finish the *patch'd emblem of his hospital*; for 'tis like *that*, without a door. Yet notwithstanding this, I leave it in the power of

the aforesaid *Penurius*, to reserve a hat or a waistcoat for the use of his †eldest son; provided always, that, in case he make ‡ The late Recorder.
his son a present of a waistcoat, he present him likewise with one hundred yards of lace; not to enrich it before, but to let it out behind.

Having this disposed of all my worldly affairs; I come now to the distribution of things of greater consequence: and, tho' I have no reason to doubt the integrity of my executors, yet I cannot help recommending the punctual execution of the remaining part of my will, to their peculiar care.

First then, I bequeath all and every part of my honour, to honest §Simon Appleton, the Miller: for to him that hath, § The late Sir W^m Milner.
shall be given. My

(46)

My *honesty* I give to the aforementioned *Penurius Puzzlewit*, for his enjoyment during his life; and, at his death, to descend, to his son *Penurius*; who may dispose of it as he thinks proper; provided always, that he leave it not to his *youngest * Wife of M^r Tho^s Lodge.
sister; who, 'tis my will, shall never inherit it, or any part of it: she being unjustly possess'd of all that which was design'd by providence for the whole family.

My *poetical genius*, together with it's appendix *poverty*, I leave, as an eternal curse, to that strange †pedagogue, who, † Lauder.
in the year 1750, profan'd the name of MILTON; to him and his heirs for ever.

And now I come to a part of my will that may perhaps occasion some trouble to my executors; but I trust their goodness will excuse it.

I will, that my *brains* be divided amongst ten of the principle proprietors of the rivers *A[ire]* and *C[a]ld[e]r*, in proportion to their several shares in the said rivers. 'Tis also my will, and pleasure, that each man receive his proper dividend into a small ivory casket, made for that purpose; which he shall wear tied upon his head, on the outside of his wig, at all *navigation meetings*: for some of 'em don't seem to want sense, upon other occasions. As

(47)

As to this piece of clay, my body, 'tis as indifferent to me at present, as it will be hereafter, how or where it shall be deposited. I make no doubt but my survivors, out of regard to their own noses, will take care to have me cover'd with

earth: which they may do, in what manner they think proper; as 'tis for the sake of the *living*, and not of the *dead*, that all funerals, however sumptuous, are solemniz'd.

This Will, wrote with my own hand, I sign and seal, the
14th day of *November*, anno dom. 1750.

PENDAVID BITTERZWIGG.

*Sign'd, seal'd, and declared to be the last Will
and Testament of Pendavid Bitterzwigg,
in the presence of us, who saw him seal
and subscribe the same.*

[Samuel
Howgate]
[Joseph
Wilson]
[Eliz. Swale]

Witness,

S. H.
J. W.
E. S.

FINIS.

Wills of Leeds and District.

TRANSCRIBED BY ROBERT BEILBY COOK.

[For other wills of this period see *ante*, Vols. II and IV, *Miscellanea*.]

WILL OF HENRY HARDWIK, OF NORTHALL, PAR. LEEDS.

In Dei nomine Amen. Quinto die mensis Maii Anno D'ni Milmo Quingentesimo primo. Ego Henricus Hardwik de Northall parochie de Ledes compos mentis et sane memorie condo testm. meum in hunc modum. In primis do et lego animam meam deo omnipotenti beate Marie Virgini et omnibus sanctis Corpusque meum sepeliendum in Ecclesia parochiali de Ledes predict. Itm. lego nomine mortuarii mei meum optimum animall. Itm. lego ad ornamenta summi altaris in ecclesia predicta v^s. Item lego uni sacerdoti idoneo ad celebrandum pro anima mea in ecclesia de Ledes predict. per unum annum post obitum meum septem marcas legalis monete Anglie. Itm. volo quod executores mei faciant celebrari unum trentale in ecclesia de Adingham pro animabus parentum meorum. Et lego eidem ecclesie de Adingham ad reparacionem ornamentorum summi altaris xx^d. Itm. volo quod executores mei pro anima mea in Ecclesia de Ilkeley unum trentale et in ecclesia de Oteley aliud trentale missarum faciant celebrari per capellanos honestos. Itm. lego summo altari ecclesie de Oteley xx^d. Itm. lego ecclesie parochiali de Ledes ad opus fabrice ejusdem xl^s ea condicione et causa viz. quod si parochiani ibidem unum latus ipsius protraxerint et eam ampliozem et maiorem fieri fecerint tunc habeant hujusmodi legatum meum. Alioquin volo quod illud sit vacuum et nullius vigoris. Item volo quod executores mei inveniunt unam lampadem per tres annos post mortem meam coram Imagine Sc'e Trinitatis in navi ecclesie de Ledes. Item lego unum cereum comburendum coram Imaginibus xij Apostolorum in dicta ecclesia de Ledes et alium cereum comburendum coram Imagine beate Marie et tercium cereum comburendum coram Imagine Crucifixi in dicta ecclesia ponderis et quantitatis secundum discrecionem executorum meorum. Item lego Elisabeth Claghton famule mee vj^s viij^d. Itm. lego Petro Brame servienti meo x^s. Et volo quod predictus Petrus habeat pro stipendio suo iiij^{or} marcas si voluerit servire uxori mee et custodire opellam ad utilitatem suam per annum post mortem meam. Item lego ad maritagium pauperum puellarum x^s distribuend. secundum discrecionem executorum meorum. Itm. lego Elene Hardwike xx^d. Itm. lego Bernardo Hardwike xx^d. Itm. lego Wilmo Dawtre xx^d. Itm. lego liberis meis versus exhibiciones suas ad scholas totum terminum meum sive residuum annorum quem seu quos habeo in quadam domo in Darington michi ad firmam dimissa per Wilmo Pagett. Et Residuum termini mei in quadam domo super le Hedrow in Ledes michi ad firmam dimissa

per Abbatem de Kirkstall lego Alicie uxori mee et liberis meis. Itm. lego Monasterio de Kirkstall ut Abbas et Conventus ibidem recipiant me in confraternitatem Capituli sui et orent pro anima mea iij^s iiij^d. Item lego cuilibet domui fratrum mendicantium Civitatis Eboraci xij^d. Et cuilibet Domui leprosororum in dicta Civitate et suburbis ejusdem viij^d. Itm. lego incarceratis Ebor' viz. in Castello in le Kidcote et in carcere convictorum viz. cuilibet carceri viij^d. Itm. lego ad emendacionem viarum publicarum circa Villam de Ledes iij^s iiij^d. Itm. lego xx^s distribuendos per discrecionem executorum meorum inter parochianos pauperes parochie de Ledes. Itm. lego altari beate Marie virginis in eadem ecclesia unum vestimentum sacerdotale cum pertinenciis ad discrecionem executorum meorum. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum superius non legatorum do et lego Alicie uxori mee Willmo Mathew et Nicholao Best quos ordino facio et constituo meos executores ut disponant pro salute anime mee prout eis melius videbitur expedire. Et hujus testamenti mei Dominos Willm Wawan et Robertum Calbek capellanos ordino et facio supervisores. Hiis testibus Willmo Thoma Wilson et Johe Andrew cum aliis. Datur die mense et anno supradicto.¹

Probate granted 14th May, 1501, to Alice the relict, power being reserved for the other co-executors. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, vi, 1.)

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN CARTWRIGHT, OF KIRKSTALL.

Item xij die mensis Decembris Anno d'ni m^lcccc^{mo}xxxv commissa fuit Administracio bonorum Johannis Cartwright nuper de Kyrkstall, Taillioar, ab intestato defuncti honabilibus viris Johanni Scargill, Roberto Passelowe et Johanni Kylekenney, generosis, Administratoribus in dictis bonis Auctoritate ordinaria deputatis et juratis in forma Juris. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, iii, 438.)

ADMINISTRATION OF RICHARD CARTWRIGHT, OF KIRKSTALL.

Item xxvj^{to} die Junii Anno d'ni mccccxxxix commissa fuit Administracio bonorum Ricardi Cartwright nuper de Kirkstall ab intestato defuncti Roberto Passelowe, generoso. Administratori in dictis bonis Auctoritate ordinaria deputato jurato in forma juris. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, iii, 578.)

WILL OF JOHN BLAND, OF BARGRANGE, NEAR KIRKSTALL.

In dei nomine Amen. Ego Johe Blande de Bargraunge juxta Kirkstall undecimo die mensis Augusti Anno D'ni Mil^lmo cccc^{mo} nonagesimo quinto compos mentis et sane memorie existens condo ordino et facio presens testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis Do et lego ai'am meam deo omnipotenti Beateque Marie et omnibus celorum sanctis. Et corpusque meum ad sepeliendum infra monasterium beate Marie de Kirkstall. Item Do et lego summo altari ecclesie de Ledes pro decimis et oblacionibus oblitis vj^s viij^d. Item Do et lego fabrice ecclesie predictae xx^s. Item do et lego iiii^{or} ordinibus fratrum infra

¹ There is a pedigree of the Hardwickses in Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 2nd ed., p. 121. From this family the Earls Cowper were descended.

Civitatis. Ebor. xx^s videlicet. cuilibet eorum v^s. Item summo altari de Kirkstall v marcas pro necessario ornamento emendo per discrecionem Abbatis et Conventus ejusdem. Item lego Conventui Monasterii beate Marie de Kirkstall videlicet cuilibet eorum iij^s iiij^d. Item Do et lego Domino meo Abbat' de Kirkstall xl^s ad orandum per eorum discrecionem pro salute anime mee et pro absolutione habenda pro omnibus offensis et transgressionibus per me et servientes meos sibi factis. Item Do et lego Ric'o Shefeld xx^s. Item volo quod executores mei per eorum discrecionem inveniant capellanum ad celebrandum missas pro anima mea per unum annum vel amplius. Item ordino et facio Aliciam uxorem meam et Joñem Spyve, capellanum, et Willm Shawe executores meos ad distribuendum et disponendum Residuum omnium bonorum meorum non legatorum per eorum discrecionem pro salute anime mee per Supervisum Domini mei Thome Abbatis de Kirkstall. Item legavit Joñi York monacho consanguineo suo xl^s. Item legavit fabrice capelle Sc'i Thome de Bramley vj^s viij^d. Item legavit Margarete Blande matri sue vli. Item legavit Agneti filie sue bastard v marcas. Hiis testibus Willmo Symson de Ledes, Thoma Jakson et Joñe Freman.

Probate granted 23^d Sept^r, 1495, to the s^d executors. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, v, 466.)

WILL OF WILLIAM MARSHALL, OF POTTER NEWTON.

In Dei nomine Amen: xvij^{mo} die mensis Novembris Anno D'ni mil^{mo} cccc^{mo} nonagesimo quarto. Ego Willmus Marshall de Potternewton compos mentis et sane memorie condo testm. meum in hunc modum. In primis do et lego animam meam Deo omnipotenti beate Marie et omnibus sanctis eius corpusque meum sepeliendum ubicunque Deus disposuerit. Item volo quod mortuarium meum deliberetur prout moris est ecclesie. Item summo altari ecclesie de Ledes pro decimis meis oblitis xij^d. Item fabrice Ecclesie Cathedralis Ebor. viij^d. Item lego Henrico Marshall filio meo j countour, j spruce kist et primarium meum. Item volo quod omnia vestimenta pro corpore meo distribuuntur inter servientes et amicos meos. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum superius non legatorum debitis et expensis meis funeralibus persolutis do et lego executrici mee ut ipsa eadem bona disponat prout ei pro salute anime mee melius videbitur prospexari. Huius autem testamenti mei executricem facio viz. Aliciam uxorem meam. In cujus etc. Hiis testibus Willm Wawen capellano Christofero Marshall, Willmo Crosseley et aliis. Et similiter volo quod Alicia gubernetur et consuletur per venerabilem magistrum meum Johannem Vavasour Justic. et Thomam Gibson capellanum. Dat' apud Potter Newton die et anno domini supradictis.

Probate granted 17th March, 1494 (5), to Alice, relict, and executrix. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, v, 456.)

DEED OF GIFT OF WILL. STEVENBY, VICAR OF ABERFORD.

Pateat Universis per presentes quod ego Will^s Stevenby nuper Vicarius de Abyrford Dedi concessi et huic presenti scripto confirmavi Thome Smyth

Juniori de Abirford et Elene uxori ejus omnia bona mea mobilia et immobilia ubicunque fuerint inventa. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti scripto sigillam meam apposui. Hiis testibus, Willelmo Raudon, Willelmo Donnyng de Abirford, Johne Ottir, Robto Raudon, Adam Forster, Adam Clerk, et aliis. Dat' apud Abirford ij die mensis Aprilis Anno D'ni Millesimo ccc^{mo} nonagesimo.

Proved 1391 (?). (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, i, 28.)

WILL OF ROBERT RAWDEN, OF ABERFORD.

In dei nomine Amen. Vicesimo sexto die mensis Januarii Anno Domini mcccc^{mo} xli. Robertus Rawden de Abirford Armiger suum testamentum nuncupativum condidit et ordinavit. In primis legavit animam suam Deo omnipotenti creatori suo et corpus suum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia sua parochiali de Shirburn in Elmett. Item legavit optimum suum averium nomine mortuarii sui. Residuum vero omnium bonorum suorum debitis suis primitus persolutis et expensis suis funeralibus deductis dedit et legavit Alicie uxori sue ad disponendum pro salute anime sicut prout ei melius videbitur expedire. Hiis testibus Magistro Thoma Holgate, vicario de Abirford, Roberto Abirford, Willelmo Sisson, de eadem et multis aliis. Dat' die et anno Domini supradictis.

Probate granted 26th June, 1442, to the relict and executrix. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, ii, 38.)

WILL OF ROBERT FISSHER, OF ABIRFORD.

In dei no'ie Amen. Anno d'ni Millesimo cccclvj^{to}. Ego Robertus Fisser de Abirford languens in extremis ut percipio condo testm. meum sub tali serie verborum. In primis lego ai'am meam Deo omnipotenti et corpus meum ecclesiastice sepulture in eccl'ia cancella Sancti Richarii de Abirford. Item lego pro mortuario meo velud modus patrie est. Item lego summo altari pro decimis meis oblitis xij^d. Item vicario d'ce eccl'ie xx^d. Item fabrice d'ce eccl'ie xij^d. Item lumini beate Marie xij^d. Item fratribus Domus beati Robti de Knaresbrough xx^d. Item fratribus Domus Pont. duas bushell frumenti. Item Rectori de Rither unum gray Stagg. Item Matilde servienti mee iiij^{or} oves. Item Margarete Mason ij oves. Item Johanne Smyth ij oves. Item Agneti servienti mee j ovem. Item Willelmo servienti meo unam togam. Item Johanni Kelingbeke unam togam. Item secundum dispositionem executorum meorum uni ydoneo Capellano ad celebrandum pro anima mea per Annum. Item pro j t'cenali v^s. Residuum vero bonorum meorum lego dispositioni executorum meorum quos constituo Dominum Robertum Rectorem de Rither filium meum, Elenam relictam meam, ac etiam Robertum Fisser filium meum cum supervisione Magistri Thome Holgate. Dat' undecimo die Januarii Anno domini supradicto. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Johne Wellis, Domino Thoma Langton et aliis.

Probate granted xvij Martii A.D. supradicto to Elen, relict of the dec^d, and D'ns Robert, executors, power being reserved for Robert

Fissher, the other co-executor. And on xxi June, mcccclvij the like grant was made to Robert Fissher, the other co-executor. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, ii, 345.)

WILL OF D'NS WILL BOWER, VICAR OF ABERFORD.

In dei no'ie Amen. Sexto die Januar. Anno D'ni Mil^mmo cccc^{mo} xxxvj^{to} Ego Willms. Bower, vicarius eccl'ie de Abyrford, condo testm. meu' in hunc modum. In primis lego a'iam meam omnipotenti Deo et beate Marie et omnibus sanctis ejus corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in eccl'ia Sc'i [blank] de Abyrford. Item lego nomine mortuarii mei meum equum. It. lego pro expensis in die sepulture xiijs iiij^d. It' lego Dionisio Gellis capellano meam blodiam togam et volo quod tres alie toge mee pauperibus erogentur. It' lego fabrice' eccl'ie de Abyrford iijs iiij^d. Et ad istud testm. perimplendum Willm Gellis constituo meum executorem. Reliqua' vero bonor' meor' do et lego predicto Willmo executori meo ut disponat pro me prout viderit oportunum. Dat' apud Abyrford die et anno prescriptis.

Probate granted xxvi Martii mccccxxvij to s^d Executor. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, ii, 508.)

ADMINISTRATION OF RICHARD RAWDON, OF ABERFORD.

Primo die mensis Augusti Anno Domini Mil^mmo cccc^{mo} tricesimo secundo commissa fuit Administracio bonorum Ricardi Rawdon nuper de Abyrford, armigeri, defuncti ab intestato Alexandro filio et heredi suo Administratori in eisdem bonis auctoritate ordinaria deputato et jurato in forma juris.

(*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, ii, 615.)

WILL OF WILL^m KYNSTAN, CHAPLAIN, OF ABIRFORD.

In dei no'ie Amen. Pridie kal. Octobris Anno D'ni Mil^mmo cccc^{mo} tricesimo primo. Ego Willmus Kynstan, presbr. compos mentis et sane memorie condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis com-mendo animam meam omnipotenti Deo et beate Marie et omnibus sanctis ejus. Itm. lego corpus meum sepeliendum ubi Deus voluerit. It. lego pro mortuario meo equum meum. Itm. lego iiij lib. cere comburend. circa corpus meum in die sepulture mee. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum non legatorum do libero et concedo D'no Johanni, fratri meo et Isabelle sorori mee quos ordino executores testamenti mei ad disponendum pro anima mea ad Dei beneplacitum et honorem. Dat' apud Abyrford die et anno supradictis.

Probate granted 21 October, 1431, to s^d Executors. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, ii, 655.)

PROBATE ACT OF HENRY DE BURTON, OF ABIRFORTH.

Mem^d quod xv die Januar. Anno d'ni Mil^mmo ccc^{mo} nonagesimo nono Probatum fuit testamentum Henrici de Burton de parochia de Abirforth et commissa administracio Agneti relicte dicti Henrici, executrici in eodem testamento nominate in forma, etc.

(*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, iii, 32.)

WILL OF THOMAS DEL BRIG, OF ABIRFORD, CHAPLAIN.

In dei no'ie Amen. Ego Thomas del Brig de Abirford, capellanus octavo die mensis Junii Anno d'ni Mil^{mo} cccc^{mo} quinto condo testm' meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam Deo omnipotenti et beate Marie virgini et omnibus sanctis et corpus meum ad sepeliendum ad montem Pontefr. Itm. lego nomine mortuarii mei xiijs iiij^d vicario de Abyrford. Itm. lego eidem Vicario pro suo labore xij^d. Itm. lego quinque libras cere ad ardendum circa corpus meum. Itm. lego Ade Clerk vj^d. Itm. lego summo altari Ebor. xvij. Itm. lego ad fabricam Sc'i Petri Ebor. ijs. Itm. lego Abathie Pontisfr. xiijs iiij^d. Itm. lego fratribus de Tykell vs. Itm. lego fratribus Predicatoribus Pontefr. xs. Itm. lego fratribus minoribus de Doncastr. vs. Itm. lego fratribus Sc'e Marie Ebor. vs. Itm. lego filio Roberti Carman xvij^d. Itm. lego filio Johis Graiff xvij^d. Itm. lego filio Thome Ward xvij^d. Itm. lego filie Roberti Hellis ijs. Itm. lego cuilibet capellano parochiano de Deurs Pontefract et Austr. iiij^d. Itm. lego pavimento de Tadcastr' xvij^d. Itm. lego Bilheambrig, Yharmbryg, Stoctonbryg, et Kypasbryg iijs. Itm. lego ecclesie de Kypas xiijs iiij^d. Itm. lego pauperibus de Burwalas vs. Itm. lego pauperibus parochie Scwyllington vs. Itm. lego parochie de Aburford vs. Itm. lego Johi Taylyour de Garfore xs. Itm. lego Johanne filie Roberti Fisher vs. Itm. lego centum tabullas ecclesie de Aburford. Itm. lego ad distribuendum pauperibus et comedendum v marcas. Itm. lego totum residuum omnium bonorum meorum d'no Willmo Gold capellano ad sepeliendum corpus meum et Roberto Fisher. Hujus autem testamenti mei prefatos dominum Willmum et Robertum facio ordino et constituo executores meos ut omnia prelegata compleantur cum effectibus. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum meum apposui. Dat. apud Abirford die et anno supradictis.

Probate granted xij Junii A.D. supradicto to s^d Executors. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, iii, 235.)

WILL OF JOHN PYKARD, OF HILLUM, IN PAR. OF ABIRFORD.

In Dei no'ie Amen. Octavo die mensis Aprilis Anno d'ni Mil^{mo} cccclxx sexto. Ego Johannes Pykard de Hillum in parochia de Abirford, compos mentis et sane memorie condo et ordino testm. meum in hunc modum. In primis lego ai'am meam omnipotenti deo beate Marie virgini et omnibus sanctis suis corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in cimiterio ecclesie Sancti Recarii de Abirford. Itm. lego meum optimum animal nomine mortuarii mei. Itm. ecclesie omnium Sanctorum de Otlay iijs iiij^d pro una torchea emenda. Itm. lego j lib. cere lumini beate Marie in eadem ecclesia. Itm. j lib. cere lumini Sc'e Katerine. Itm. lego ecclesie Sancti Ricarii j torchi precii iijs iiij^d. Itm. lego j lib. cere lumini Sc'e Marie in eadem. Itm. lego j lib. cere lumini ante crucem comburend. Itm. summo altari ecclesie mee parochialis de Abirford pro decimis meis oblitis xx^d. Itm. lego Ricardo filio meo et heredi meliorem meum colt stagg et j Jak, j sallet, seilam meam cum freno. Itm. lego eidem Ricardo gladium meum. Itm. lego Ricardo fratri meo j boviculum j petr. lane. Itm. lego pro expensis meis funeralibus tam in die obitus mei quam in septimo die ij

quarteria frumenti et ij quarteria brasii. Itm. lego dimidium quarterium frumenti provisandum et distribuendum inter pauperes incontinenter prox. post septimum diem factum. Itm. lego cuilibet capellano celebranti in ecclesia parochiali de Abirford iiij^d et clerico parochiali ij^d et cuilibet puero superpellicium portanti j^d. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum superius non legatorum do et lego Margarete uxori mee et Willmo Pykard fratri meo quos ordino et constituo executores meos ad disponendum pro anime mee salute prout eis melius videbitur expedire et deo placere. Hiis testibus D'no Robto Man, vicario de Abirford, Christofero Thornton et Ricardo Pykard.

Probate granted 27 May, 1476, to s^d Executors. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, iv, 89.)

WILL OF JOHN PYWELL, OF ABYRFORD.

In Dei no'ie Amen. Undecimo die mensis Aprilis Anno d'ni Millmo cccc^{mo} Septuagesimo primo. Ego Johannes Pywell de Abyrford compos mentis et sanus memorie condo presens testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego ai'am meam deo omnipotenti ac beate Marie virgini ac omnibus sanctis ejus corpus que meum ad sepeliendum in choro ecclesie Sancti Ric'i de Abirford in parte boriali. Itm. lego optimum meum animal summo altari Omnium Sanctorum de Sherburn nomine mortuarii mei. Itm. lego vicario de Sherburn pro oblacione in die sepulture mee iiij^s. Itm. lego summo altari ecclesie Sancti Ric'i de Abyrford duas torticias precii vj^s viij^d. Itm. lego Henrico Harpyn unam tunicam rubiam. Itm. lego cuilibet sacerdoti venienti ad exequias meas in die sepulture mee iiij^d. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum superius non legatorum do et lego Johanne uxori mee libere et quiete quam facio ordino et constituo meam veram solam executricem ut disponat ac ordinet pro salute anime mee ut ei melius videbitur expedire presentibus discretis viris Robto Mane, vicario de Abyrford, Petro Tatarsall et aliis. Dat' die et anno d'ni supradictis.

Probate granted 15th July, 1471, to Johanna, relict, and Executrix. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, iv, 162.)

WILL OF WILLIAM RAWSON, OF STIRTON.

In Dei nomine Amen. Vicesimo secundo die mensis Aprilis Anno Domini Millio cccclxxxiiij. Ego Willms Rawson de Stirton sanus mentis condo testm. meum in hunc modum. In primis lego ai'am meam Deo omnipotenti beate Marie virgini et omnibus sanctis Dei corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia de Abirford. Item lego optimum meum animal nomine mortuarii. Item lego summo altari dicte ecclesie pro decimis meis oblitis xx^d. Item fabrice ecclesie Cathedralis beati Petri Ebor. xij^d. Item lego cuilibet domui iiij^{or} fratrum Civitatis Ebor. xx^d. Item lego fratribus Pont. xx^d. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum non legatorum do et lego Elizabeth uxori mee Willmo Wawan capellano et Laurencio Rawson filio meo quos facio et ordino meos executores ad disponendum pro anime mee salute meliori modo quo sciverint. Hiis testibus Robto

Rawson Roberto Diconson et Johanne Preston ac aliis. Dat' die et anno D'ni supradictis.

Probate granted 29th Sept., 1483, to s^d Executors. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, v, 199.)

WILL OF THOMAS LANGTO, OF ABIRFORD, CHAPLAIN.

In Dei nomine Amen. xiiij^{mo} die mensis Octobris Anno D'ni Mil^{mo} cccc^{mo} octogesimo tertio. Ego Thomas Langto, presbiter, sana mente existens condo testm' meum in hunc modum. In primis lego ai'am meam Omnipotenti Deo meo creatori corpusque meum sepeliendum in ecclesia parochiali de Abirford ante Crucifixum. Itm. fabrice eiusdem ecclesie pro sepultura mea ibidem habenda lego vj^s viij^d si me mori ibidem contigerit alioquin ubi Deus disposuerit per discrecionem executorum meorum subscriptorum. Item lego nomine mortuarii mei optimum meum animal. It' Alicie del Hay sorori mee lego vj^s viij^d. Itm. lego M. Willmo Cliveland pro suo labore x^s et unum Counto^r. Item lego in expensis meis faciendis diebus sepulture mee et octavo et inter presbiteros, clericos et pauperes distribuend x^{ls}. Item lego Roberto Diconson pro suo labore vj^s viij^d. Item lego M. Thome Melburn alias Smert x^s et unam Archam de Wanescottez. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum superius non legatorum, debitis meis primitus persolutis et expensis meis funeralibus factis do et lego Executoribus meis subscriptis ad disponendum pro anime mee salute prout eis melius videbitur expedire et Deo placere. Hujus autem testamenti mei et ultime mee voluntatis dictos M. Willm Cliveland, Thomam Melburn alias Smert, clericos, et Robertum Diconson de Fenton executores meos facio et per presentes constituo. Hiis testibus, D'no Robto Man, Vicario de Abirford, Robto Burrey et Willmo Fawdyngton. Dat' etc.

Probate granted 25th October, 1483, to M. Thomas Melburn als. Smert, power being reserved for the other co-executors, and on the 27th December, 1583, like grant was made to Robert Diconson. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, v, 205.)

WILL OF ELIZABETH RAWSON, OF STIRTON, WIDOW.

In Dei nomine Amen Vicesimo sexto die mensis Augusti Anno Domini Mil^{mo} cccc^{mo} lxxx quinto. Ego Elizabeth Rawson de Stirton vidua compos mentis et sane memorie tamen egra corpore condo testm. meum in hunc modum. In primis lego ai'am meam deo omnipotenti beate Marie virgini et omnibus sanctis dei Corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia de Abirford. Item lego optimum meum animal nomine mei mortuarii. Item lego fabrice ecclesie de Abirford vj^s viij^d. Item lego summo altari dicte ecclesie pro decimis meis oblitis xij^d. Item lego fabrice ecclesie Cath. beati Petri Ebor. xij^d. Item lego cuilibet domui iiij^{or} fratrum Civitatis Ebor. xij^d. Item lego fratribus Pontisfracti xij^d. Item lego Willmo filio meo x^{ls}. Item Roberto filio meo unum buculum. Item Johanni Rawson unam vaccam. Item volo quod unus presbiter celebret pro salute anime mee et anime mei mariti per unum annum integrum. Item facio et ordino Willm Wawan capellandum Laurencium Rawson et Johannam Rawson meos executores ad disponendum pro salute anime

mee ad laudem dei meliori modo quo sciverint. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum non legatorum do et lego Laurencio Rawson Radulpho Rawson, Johanne Rawson, Margarete Rawson et Cecilie Rawson. Hiis testibus, etc. [*sic*].

Probate granted 6th April, 1486, to Johanna Rawson, Executrix, power being reserved for Laurence Rawson, the other co-executor, D^{ns} Will. Wawan, chaplain and co-executor, having died before proof thereof. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, v, 279.)

WILL OF JOHN WELLES, OF PARLYNGTON.

In Dei nomine Amen. In die Jovis ante Pascha xij^o die mensis Aprilis A^o Dⁿⁱ MiHmo cccc^{mo} nonagesimo octavo. Ego Joñes Welles compos mentis et sane memorie condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam deo omnipotenti beate Marie virgini et omnibus sanctis celestis curie Corpusque meum sepeliendum in Ecclesia mea parochiali Sc'i Richarii de Abirford. Itm. lego nomine mortuarii mei meum optimum animal. Itm. lego summo altari predictæ ecclesie pro decimis meis oblitis xij^d. Itm. lego fabrice ecclesie predictæ ijs. Itm. lego fabrice ecclesie Cath. Sc'i Petri Ebor. ijs. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum non legatorum Do et lego Johanne uxori mee quam ordino et constituo Executricem meam ad disponendum pro salute anime mee ad laudem Dei beate Marie omniumque sanctorum celestis curie meliori modo quo sciverit per consilium suum, etc. In cujus Rei testimonium huic presenti Scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Joñe Buktrowte, Vicar predictæ ecclesie, Joñe Pers et Roßto Wright, capellanis, et Laurenc Rawson et aliis. Dat' die et anno supradictis.

Probate granted 6 May, 1498, to Johanna, relict and executrix. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, v, 512.)

WILL OF RICHARD PEESE, OF ABIRFORD.

In Dei nomine Amen. x^{mo} die mensis Aprilis Anno dⁿⁱ MiHmo Dvj^{to} Ego Ricardus Peese sane memorie condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam Omnipotenti Deo beate Marie omnibusque sanctis ejus corpusque meum sepeliendum in cimiterio ecclesie de Abirford. Item lego optimum meum animal nomine mortuarii. Item summo altari ecclesie mee parochialis pro decimis oblitis xx^d. Item lego fabrice ecclesie predictæ iij^s iiij^d. Residuum omnium bonorum meorum superius non legatorum, debitis meis solutis do et lego libere et absolute Johanni Ricardo et Roberto filiis meis per equales porciones. Ita ut Johannes Horbery et Thomas Peese quos constituo meos executores exhibeant et gubernent predictos filios meos quousque pervenerint ad etatem legitimam et impleant meam voluntatem et sufficienter habeant pro laboribus suis. Hiis testibus Roßto Horbery, Roßto Sawyer, Johanne Smyth et aliis.

Probate granted 2nd May, 1506, to s^d Executors. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, vi, 241.)

ADMINISTRATION OF RICHARD SAWER, RECTOR OF ADEL.

Vicesimo sexto die mensis Junii Anno Domini Mil^{mo} Quadringentesimo sexagesimo septimo Commissa fuit Administracio omnium bonorum que fuerunt Domini Ric'i Sawyer nuper Rectoris ecclesie parochialis de Adyll ab intestato defuncti Wil^{mo} Dodington subapparitori nostro et Roberto Sawyer de Halton parochie de Skipton administratoribus in bonis ejusdem Auctoritate Ordinaria deputatis juratis, etc. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, iv, 51.)

WILL OF THOMAS WILKINSON, RECTOR OF ADEL.

In nomine Jesu Amen: xxvij die mensis Maii Anno D'ni Mil^{mo} cccc^{mo} nonagesimo septimo. Ego Thomas Wilkynson Rector ecclesie Sc'i Johannis Baptiste in Adill compos mentis et sana memoria condo testm. meum in hunc modum. In primis do et lego animam meam Deo omnipotenti beate Marie ac omnibus sanctis Dei corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia Sc'i Johannis Baptiste in Adill viz. in choro ex parte boriali juxta stallam coram ymagine beate Marie Virginis. Item lego ad distribuendum pauperibus in die sepulture mee iiij^{or} marcas. Item lego dicte ecclesie unum portous unum presacionarium et unum vestimentum. Item domui beate Marie de Kirkstall vjs viij^d intime rogans ut dignarentur me absolvere ab omnibus privaricationibus per me aut servientes meos huic domui factis. Item lego Abbati ibidem iij^s iiij^d et conventui ibidem xs inter se devidendos predictos etiam subnixie rogans et exorans ut suis precibus assiduis me commendare dignarentur Christo Jesu. Item lego uni presbitero honesto et bone fame celebraturo pro anima mea patris et matris mee et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum per unum annum integrum vj marcas vjs viij^d. Item lego vicario de Whixley fratri meo xls et Christofero Wylkynson fratri meo xls. Item lego Alicie Hammerton sorori mee unam togam talarem de violet. Item Johanne Wilkynson uxori Christoferi Wilkynson fratris mei unam togam talarem de grene. Item lego D'no Johanni Carlell unam togam. Item lego Ricardo Cledrow unum stott triennium. Item Wil^{mo} Pecard unum stott triennium. Item Alicie Flynt unam vaccam j maskfatt, j gylefatt, et j saa. Item Roberto Coventre j vitulum, Elizabeth Hauk j vitulum. Item Thome Pecard filio Johannis Pecard unum stott biennium. Item lego Briano Wilkynson xx^s et Roberto Wilkynson unum equum gryseld. Item Sebelle uxori Wil^{mi} Harryson unam togam de meld. Item lego Miloni Willethorpe xx^s. Item debitis solutis do et lego Residuum omnium bonorum meorum non legatorum Vicario de Whixley et Christofero Wilkynson fratribus meis ut pro me disponant prout melius sibi viderint expedire pro anime mee salute etc. Hujus autem testamenti ordino ac constituo executores viz. dictum vicarium fratrem meum et Christoferum Wilkynson predict. ut pro me disponant etc. Item Thome Wilkynson ij stotts et tribus filiabus Christofero Wylkynson junioribus iij stirkes. Item domui Sc'i Roberti iij^s iiij^d. Item iiij^{or} ordinibus fratrum Ebor. iiij quarteria siliginis et domui de Arthington monialium j quarterium siliginis. Item Johanne Pecard unam Juvenecam. Dat' die et anno supradictis.

Probate granted 24th May, 1497 [*sic*], to the Executors. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, v, 494.)

WILL OF HENRY ARTHYNGTON, OF BRAMHOPE.

In Dei nomine Amen. v^o die mensis Septembris Anno d'ni Mil^{mo} D^{mo} secundo. Ego Henricus Arthyngton de Bramope compos mentis et sane memorie condo ordino et facio testm. meum in hunc modum. In primis do et lego animam meam Deo omnipotenti beate Marie Virgini matri ejus et omnibus sanctis curie celestis corpusque meum sepeliendum in ecclesia parochiali de Adill prope fontem. Item do et lego pro mortuario meo meum optimum animall. Item do et lego Margarete Whixley vj vaccas, x oves, ij lectos unam ollam eneam et unam patellam. Item do et lego Henrico Cawdra unam vaccam et sex oves. Item do et lego Henrico Syme unam vaccam et tres oves. Item do et lego Thome Rawdon unam juvencam. Residuum omnium bonorum meorum superius non legatorum debitis meis plene persolutis et expensis meis funeralibus inde factis et deductis do et lego Wi^lho Arthyngton fratri meo et Ro^bto Whixley capellano ad disponendum pro salute anime mee prout voluerint respondere coram summo Judice in die Judicii quos quidem Wi^llm et Ro^btum ordino facio et constituo executores presentis test'i mei. Item facio ordino et constituo Jo^hem Arthyngton supervisorem test'i mei. Hiis testibus Jo^he Carlill capellano Jo^he Lee et multis aliis. Dat' sub sigillo meo die et anno d'ni supradictis.

Probate granted 5th Nov^r, 1502, to the Executors. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, vi, 44.)

WILL OF JOHN ARTHYNGTON, OF ARTHYNGTON.

In dei no'ie Amen: decimo die mensis Junii Anno d'ni Mil^{mo} cccc^{mo} lxxxvij. Ego Jo^hes Arthyngton de Arthyngton compos mentis et sane memorie condo presens Testm. meum in hunc modum. In primis lego ai'am meam deo omnipotenti et beate Marie ac omnibus sanctis ejus corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia beate Marie Virginis de Arthyngton coram altare ejusdem. Item lego meum optimum animall nomine mortuarii mei in remissione peccatorum meorum. Item lego quinque libras cere ad comburendum circa corpus in exequiis meis et in die sepulture mee. Item lego Priorisse de Arthyngton viij^d. Et cuilibet moniali ibidem iiij^d. Item lego cuilibet capellano ibidem inter-
senti missam celebranti iiij^d. Item lego ad distribucionem pauperum die sepulture mee xl^s. Et volo quod predicti xl^s distribuantur priusquam sepilier viz. cuilibet pauperi j^d. Et si plures pauperes sint ibidem ita quod predicti xl^s non sufficiant dare cuilibet j^d tunc residuum pauperum ibidem essent quilibet habeat unum panem de j q^r et potum et caseum. Item lego quatuor ordinibus fratrum Ebor. xiijs iiij^d videlicet cuilibet ordini iij^s iiij^d cum litteris fraternitatis mee eisdem deliberandis. Item lego fratribus Sc'i Ro^bti de Knaresburghe iij^s iiij^d cum litera mea eisdem deliberanda. Item lego monachis de Monte Gracie vjs viij^d cum litera mea similiter deliberanda. Item lego Abbati et Conventui de Kirkestall vjs viij^d humiliter petens et supplicans ut predicti Abbas et Conventus absolvant me de omnibus offensis et dilectis quos unquam feci eisdem. Item lego ad Sustentacionem cereorum coram ymagine beate Marie de Arthyngton vjs viij^d. Item lego cuilibet domo fraternitatis mee non prenominate xij^d cum literis meis eisdem deliberandis. Item lego uno

honesto ac ydoneo capellano ad celebrandum ad altare beate Marie Virginis de Arthyngton predicta pro animabus patris mei et matris mee ac pro anima mea uxoris mee et omnium liberorum nostrorum ac omnium fidelium defunctorum durante uno anno integro *iiijli*. Ita quod dictus capellanus dicat pro animabus predictis qualibet septimana durante anno predicto ter placebo cum derige. Et similiter qualibet Septimana durante anno predicto celebret missam in die lune de Sancto Spiritu, die martis de die, die mercurii de Requie, die Jovis de die, die veneris de quinque vulneribus Jesu Christi, die Sabbati de domina, et die dominica de nomine Jesu. Item lego Henrico filio meo unam peciam argenteam stantem cum co-opertorio. Et volo quod predicta pecia remaneat heredibus masculis predicti Henrici de herede in heredem in manerio de Arthyngton. Item lego eidem Henrico filio meo decem boves sex vaccas et quadraginta oves viz. viginti arietes et *xx^{ti}* alias oves. Ita quod si dictus Henricus habeat exitus masculos tunc dimittet talibus heredibus masculis predictam peciam ut predictum est ac eciam tantos boves vaccas et oves. Et si contingat predictum Henricum filium meum obire sine herede masculo quod tunc dictus Henricus dimittat predictam peciam ac tantos boves vaccas et oves prius sibi legatos executoribus meis ut ipsi inde disponant pro salute anime mee exceptum quod dicti executores mei solvant pro me et nomine meo proximo heredi domini de Arthyngton *xxvj^s viij^d*. Item lego Margar' filie mee ad maritagium suum centum marcas. Item lego Anne filie mee unum annualem redditum viginti solidorum durante vita eiusdem Anne annuatim percipiendum de omnibus terris et tenementis meis in [blank] per manus feoffatorum vel executorum meorum et volo quod post mortem eiusdem Anne predictus annualis redditus remaniat rectis heredibus meis imperpetuum et Insuper volo quod post mortem meam Johanna uxor mea habeat omnia terras et tenementa mea quod habeo infra Regnum Anglie quousque Henricus filius meus pervenerit ad etatem *xx^{ti}* unius annorum exceptum quod predicta Johanna uxor mea solvet annuatim predicto Henrico a tempore quo sit etatis octodecem annorum *xx^s* legalis monete ad festa Pentecost et Sc'i Martini in hieme equis porcionibus quousque impleverit etatem viginti unius annorum. Quo facto habito et impleto volo quod predicta uxor mea et filius meus habeant jura sua secundum legem et consuetudinem regni Anglie. Et si predicta uxor mea decesserit ante tempus quo predictus filius meus sit plene etatis tunc volo quod feoffatores et executores mei habeant profutua omnium terrarum et tenementorum meorum predictorum ad usum predicti filii mei quousque sit plene etatis. Et si predicti uxor mea et filius meus decesserint ante tempus solucionis summarum predictarum per me prius legatarum tunc volo quod predicti feoffatores et executores mei habeant omnia terras et tenementa mea predicta quousque predice summe sint totaliter persolute. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum superius non legatorum ubicunque inventorum do et lego executoribus meis subscriptis ut ipsi ea in pios usus disponant pro ut anime mee melius et salubrius crederint expedire. Et ad execucionem presentis Testamenti mei faciendum exequendum et fideliter adimplendum dilectos mihi in Christo Johannam uxorem meam et Willmum Arthyngton de Casteley seniore ordino et constituo executores meos cui vero volo

do et lego etc. Et volo quod omnia onera per prefatum Willmum circa execucionem presentis Testamenti mei facienda persolvantur de bonis meis propriis dansque et concedens eisdem executoribus meis de quibuscunque bonis et catallis et domorum utensilibus meis vendendis quecunque sibi utilia secundum eorum veram duntaxat iustam apreciacionem emendi liberam facultatem. In quorum omnium et singulorum premisorum testimonium atque fidem sigillum de armis meis presentibus apposui. Hiis testibus Johne Norton, milite, Robto Wyvell de Burton armigero, Robto Norton, Johne Carlele et Willmo Whytacars capellanis et multis aliis. Dat' apud Arthyngton die et anno supradictis.

Probate granted 24th March, 1507, and the Executors sworn. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, vii, 21, 22.)

WILL OF HENRY WATSON, OF ALLERTON.

In Dei nomine Amen. Penultimo die mensis Maii Anno d'ni Milmo cccc^{mo} xxx^{mo}. Ego Henricus Watson de Allerton by y^e Water compos mentis et sane memorie in cubiculo tamen cubans egritudinis condo testm. meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam omnipotenti Deo et beate Marie ejus genitrici et omnibus celi ciuibus Corpusque meum sepeliendum infra ecclesiam parochialem beate Marie de Kypax. Item lego nomine mortuarii mei meum equum optimum cum ceteris ornamentis equinis prout moris est requisitis. Itm. lego quinque libras comburendas circa corpus meum ad exequias meas et die sepulture mee. Itm. lego cuilibet Capellano ad exequias meas ministranti iiij^d. Et cuilibet Clerico ibidem presenti et ministranti ij^d. Itm. lego cuidam Capellano pro salute anime mee divina celebraturo per unum annum integrum septem marcas legalis monete Anglie. Itm. lego fabrice campanilis ecclesie parochialis de Kypax vj^s viij^d. Itm. lego summo altari ecclesie predicti pro decimis et oblationibus negligenter vel scienter omissis vel oblitis xij^d. Itm. lego fabrice ecclesie Cath. Sancti Petri Ebor. ij^s. Itm. lego Alicie uxori mee tres vaccas. Itm. lego Johanni filio meo quatuor boues, unum equum badei coloris, unam equiferam, omnia blada crescencia super Yngramland, duo quarteria frumenti, unum quarterium ordeï, unum quarter mixtilionis simul cum omnibus suis utensilibus domesticis hereditariis. Itm. lego Henrico filio meo quatuor boues, duas equas, duo quarteria frumenti, duo quarteria ordii, ij quart' mixtilionis unum quart' fabarum et unum lectum integrum. Itm. lego Margarete filie mee iij juvencas. Itm. lego ij filiabus meis junioribus tres juvencas inter eas equales porciones dividendas. Et si contingat aliquam predictarum trium filiarum mearum ante etatem congruam decedere volo quod porcio eiusdem predictarum invencarum necnon omnium aliorum bonorum suorum per me ipsi legatorum alii vel aliis filiabus meis etatem congruam attingenti vel attingentibus equis porcionibus detur vel integre revertatur. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum superius non legatorum post debita mea plenarie et fideliter soluta et de integro bonorum meorum sumpta do et lego Alicie uxori mee et Johanni filio meo quos quidem Aliciam et Johannem ordino et constituo Executores meos ut ipsi predictum bonorum meorum residuum prout maxime viderint oportunum pro salute anime mee dividant et disponant imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti

testamento meo sigillum meum apposui coram hiis testibus Ric'o Driffeld, capellano, Johanne Freman, Jun., Ric'o Yngram et aliis. Dat' apud Allerton by y^e Water die et anno d'ni supradictis.

Probate granted 9th July, 1430, to s^d Executors. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, ii, 627.)

WILL OF JOHN WATSON, OF ALLERTON, NEAR THE WATER OF AYRE.

In Dei nomine Amen. Sexto die mensis Aprilis Anno d'ni Mil^lio cccc^{mo} octogesimo. Ego Johannes Watson de Allerton juxta aquam de Ayre compos mentis et sane memorie condo ordino et facio testm. meum in hunc modum. In primis lego animam meam deo omnipotenti beate Marie et omnibus sanctis ejus Corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia parochiali de Kepax. Itm. lego meum optimum animal nomine mortuarii mei. Itm. lego fabrice ecclesie Cath. beati Petri Ebor. ij^s. Itm. lego Summo altari de Kepax predict. pro decimis oblitis ij^s. Itm. lego uni presbitero ad celebrandum pro anima mea in ecclesia predicta xl^s. Et volo quod Ric'us filius meus senior habeat duo mesuagia et ij bovatas terre cum pertinentiis in Allerton predict. post decessum meum et Elizabeth uxorem meam, tenendum sibi et heredibus de corpore suo legitime procreatis. Et si predictus Ric'us obierit sine herede de corpore suo legitime procreato quod tunc predicta mesuagia et bovate terre integre remaneant rectis heredibus mei predicti Johannis Watson. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum non legatorum do et lego Elizabeth uxori mee Johanni Lucas et Johanni Watson Juniori, filio meo. Quos facio et ordino meos executores ad disponendum pro anima mea sicut ipsi placuerint. Hiis testibus Thoma Freman, Johanne Storre et aliis. Dat' die et anno d'ni supradictis.

Probate granted 23^d May, 1480, to the s^d Executors (during the Vacancy of the see by the death of the Very Rev. Laurence Bothe, Archbishop of York, who died 19th May, 1480). (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, v, 179.)

WILL OF ELIZABETH WATSON, OF ALLERTON, PARISH OF KIPPAX, WIDOW.

In Dei nomine Amen. quinto decimo die mensis Januarii Anno d'ni Mil^lmo cccc^{mo} octogesimo sexto. Ego Elizabeth Watson de Allerton vidua compos mentis et sane memorie condo testm. meum in hunc modum. In primis do et lego ai'am meam deo omnipotenti beate Marie matri sue et omnibus sanctis ejus Corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia parochiali de Kepax. Item lego optimum meum animal nomine mortuarii mee. Item lego summo altari dicte ecclesie pro decimis meis oblitis xij^d. Item lego Cantarie beate Marie in dicta ecclesia x^s. Item lego lineum pannum sufficientem ad faciendum unam albam in dicta ecclesia. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum post debita mea soluta et hujus testamenti mei execucionem do et lego Johanni Watson filio meo et Matildi ac Katherine filiabus meis ut ipsi inde ordinent et disponant pro salute anime mee prout eis melius videbitur faciendum deo placere et anime mee proficere. Et eosdem Johannem Matildem et Katherinam ordino facio et constituo meos executores per presentes ut presens testm. meum fideliter exequantur et compleant cum effectu. Sigillo meo sigillato. Hiis testibus Thoma Freman, Johe Stor, Nicho Clerk et aliis.

Probate granted 23^d March, 1486, to s^d Executors. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, v, 302.)

WILL OF RICHARD WATSON, OF ALLERTON BY WATER.

In Dei nomine Amen. Ego Ric'us Watson de Allerton by Water, parochia de Kepax compos mentis et sane memorie eger tamen corpore Condo testm. meum in hunc modum. In primis lego ai'am meam omnipotenti Deo et beate Marie virgini ejus genetrici ac omnibus celi civibus Corpusque meum sepeliendum in ecclesia parochiali de Kepax predict. Et lego pro sepultura mea ibidem habenda iij^s iiij^d. Itm. lego meum optimum animal nomine mortuarii mei. Itm. lego summo altari ecclesie de Kepax pro decimis meis non solutis et negligenter omissis xij^d. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum non legatorum do et lego Elizabeth uxori mee Willmo Nuby et Thome Freman quos ordino facio et constituo meos executores ut illi disponant prout eis melius videbitur expedire. In cujus rei testimonium, etc. Dat' xxiiij^{to} die mensis Januarii Anno Regni Regis Henrici Septimi post Conquestum Anglie octavo. Hiis testibus Thoma Topcliff et Johanne Storre.

Probate granted 16th July, A.D. 1493, to s^d Executors. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, v, 435.)

WILL OF THOMAS FREMAN, OF ALLERTON BYWATER.

In dei nomine Amen : quinto die mensis Julii Anno D'ni m^{lo} quingentesimo septimo. Ego Thomas Freman de Allerton by water compos mentis et sane memorie condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. In primis lego ai'am meam Deo omnipotenti beate Marie ac omnibus sanctis corpusque meum sepeliendum in ecclesia parochiali de Kepas. Item lego pro mortuario meo meum optimum animal. Item pro decimis oblitis xij^d. Item lego luminari aratri xij^d. Item lego fabrice de le rode loft ibm iij^s iiij^d. Item luminari de Allerton viij^d. Item fabrice campanilis de Swillyngton ij^s. Item lego fabrice de hy cawsay a Thorow brygge usque ad pontem de Castilforth iij^s iiij^d. Item volo quod unus presbiter celebret pro anima mea per spacium dimedii unius anni. Item lego Ricardo, filio meo tres boves cum uno bucculo unam vaccam unam equam duos porcos unum coclier argenteum unum plastrum tria niga duos themones unum aratrum duas harpicas ferreas unam cistamde flownders unam ollam magnam eream et terciam partem omnium messium mearum. Item lego Alicie Freman unam magnam Arke. Item Thome Freman unum stirke. Item Roberto Freman unum stirke. Item lego Roberto Freman fratri meo unam togam blodiam. Item lego Nicholas Teiliour unum stirke. Item lego Elisabet Teiliour unam ovem cum agnello. Item Ricardo Robynson iij^s iiij^d. Item lego Johi Watson unam vaccam. Item lego Katerine Watson tres vaccas. Item Johanne Weyver unum vitulum. Item cuilibet filio meo spirituali iiij^d. Item Matilde Freman uxori mee unum cotagium edificatum cum dimedio acre terre arabilis eidem cotagio pertinente et dimedium omnium terrarum prati et pasture vocate Grymston land cum omnibus suis pertinenciis ut jacet infra dominium de Allerton predicta et dimedium trium acrarum prati vocat. Croftells jacentum in Castyll ynys pro termino vite sue et post ejus decesum volo quod cotagium terre prata et pasture predictae remaneant Ricardo Freman predictum et heredibus suis legitime procreatis. Residuum do et lego Matilde uxori mee et illam constituo meam executricem ut illa

disponet pro salute anime mee. Ac eciam facio vicarium de Kepaske et Robertum Lonne meas supervisores et lego utrique eorum x^s. Hiis testibus Petro Bank, Petro Stor, Ric. Bywater, Willmo Redr et aliis.

Probate granted 11 August, 1509, to the Executrix. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, viii, 15.)

PROBATE ACT OF WILLIAM FRYSTON, OF ALTOFTES.

Probatum fuit testamentum Willmi Fryston nuper de Altoftes parochie de Normanton defuncti quinto die mensis Marcii Anno Domini Milmo Quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo et commissa Administracio Roberto filio et executori in eodem testamento nominato Reservata potestate consimilem Administracionem committendi Isabelle, Relicte ejusdem, altere co-executrici cum venerit. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, ii, 463.)

ADMINISTRATION OF GODFREY BURRUS, OF ALTOFTS.

D'ni Offic' Curie Ebor' Commissar' generalis Isabelle relicte Godfridi Burrus de Aldtoftes salutem De tuis fidelitate et industria quam plurimum confident' te Administratricem in bonis dicti Godfridi mariti tui nuper ab intestato defuncti deputamus et preficimus per presentes. Tibi in virtute juramenti tui coram nobis prestiti firmiter injungendo mandamus quatinus verum et legitimum Inventarium in bonis ipsius defuncti facias debitaque defuncti in quibus effectualiter tenebatur dum vixit debite persolvas ac Rev. in Christo patrem et dominum Dominum Ricardum dei gratia Ebor. Archiepiscopum erga quoscunque occasione bonorum ejusdem defuncti et ministros suos indempnes conserves et ulterius exequaris que in hoc casu fuerint exequenda. Ita quod de administracione vera nobis possis fideliter respondere cum super hoc auctoritate dicte Curie congrue fueris requisita. Dat' Ebor. xxviii^o die mensis Junii Anno d'ni Milmo cccc^{mo} secundo. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, iii, 79.)

WILL OF JOHN HOLME, OF ARDESLAW.

In dei no'ie Amen. Vicesimo die Novembris A.D. Milmo cccclxij. Ego John Holme de Ardislaw compos mentis etc. condo testm. meum. In primis lego ai'am meam omnipotenti Deo et beate Marie et omnibus celi civibus. Corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia parochiali de Ardislaw in choro beate Marie virginis. Itm. lego nomine mortuarii mei unum Bovem. Itm. lego cuilibet capellano ad exequias meas existenti iiij^d. Itm. lego capellano parochiali vj^d. Et cuilibet clerico utenti superpellicio ij^d. Itm. lego pauperibus distribuendis x^d. Itm. lego vj^d ad comparandum ceram circa corpus meum die sepulture mee comburandam. Itm. lego x^s expendend octava die post obitum meum in equiis et aliis necessariis. Itm. lego fabrice ecclesie de Ardislaw ij^s et summo altari ejusdem xij^d pro decimis et oblacionibus meis oblitis. Itm. lego fabrice ecclesie Cathedralis Ebor. vj^d. Itm. lego fabrice monasterii beate Marie Virginis de Suthwell vj^d. Itm. lego fabrice Monasterii Sc'i Wilfridi de Ripon vj^d. Itm. lego fabrice monasterii Sancti Johannis de Beverlaco vj^d. Itm. lego quatuor ordinibus fratrum cuilibet ordini per se xij^d.

Itm. lego Capellano ydoneo ad celebrandum et orandum pro ai'a mea et pro ai'abus omnium benefactorum meorum per unum annum vj marcas. Itm. lego Johanni filio meo meam optimam togam penulatam unam tunicam defensibilem unam galeam gladium cum pelta ac eciam lego eidem Johanni optimam rem cujuslibet officii in domo mea val extra domum meam michi pertinentem existentem. Itm. lego Thome filio meo unam togam Russetam penulatam unam tunicam unum Archum cum Sagittis et partem suam omnium bonorum meorum non datorum neque legatorum. Itm. lego Wilmo filio meo unam togam viridem et suam partem aliorum bonorum. Itm. lego Ric'o filio meo unam togam stragulatam et suam partem aliorum bonorum. Itm. lego Johanne filie mee Juniori unam togam of cher' et partem suam omnium bonorum. Itm. lego Johanne Seniori et Alicie filiabus meis utrique earum per se vjs viij^d de toto suscipienda vice suarum togarum. Itm. lego Johanni Dukdale unam Broune juvencam unam Barcam cum Agno. Itm. lego eidem Johanni vjs viij^d. Itm. lego Thome Bargemam fileo meo vjs viij^d. Itm. lego Wilmo Wollay iij^s iij^d. Residuum vero do et lego Johanni Holme, Thome Holme filiis meis Wilmo Wollay et Ric'o Kilchyff quos quidem facio ordino et constituo meos executores ad petendum recipiendum debita mea et ad ordinandum et disponendum pro anima mea, etc. In cujus rei, etc. Hiis testibus Ric'o Hawe, Johanne Botler et aliis.

Probate granted to John Holme, son and Ex'or, power being reserved for the other co-executors (no date, but ? 1462). (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, ii, 474.)

WILL OF JOHN HOLME DE ERDESLAW.

In dei no'ie Amen. festo sancti Wilhi Archiepi Anno D'ni Milmo cccc^{mo} Ego Joñes de Holme compos mentis et eger corpus condo testm. meum in hunc modum. In primis lego ai'am meam Deo qui eam creavit ex nichilo et suo sanguine redemit precioso et beate Marie et omnibus sanctis ejus et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in Cimiterio Capelle de Erdeslawe. Itm. lego optimum animal meum nomine mortuarii. Itm. lego iij^{li} cere et ði ad comburendum circa corpus meum. Itm. lego summo altari dicte capelle iij^s iij^d. Itm. Rob'to Mason, capellano, iij^s iij^d. Itm. lego ad fabricam dicte capelle vjs viij^d. Itm. lego fabrice ecclesie Cathedralis Sancti Petri vjs viij^d. Itm. Margarete uxori mee c^s. Itm. lego Wilmo filio meo xl^s. Itm. lego Elizabeth et Agn' filiabus meis xx marcas. Itm. lego Katerine et Isabe^{ll} fil. meis x^{li}. Itm. lego xij marcas ad celebrandum pro anima mea. Itm. lego Johanne sorori mee vjs viij^d ði quarter' frumenti et tantum siliginis et j quarter' Aven. Itm. lego Joñi capellano xij^s iij^d. Itm. lego Johanne Webster vjs viij^d. Itm. lego uxori Wilhi Topeclyffe vjs viij^d. Itm. lego filio meo spirituali Joh. de Manygham ij oves. Itm. lego Joñi Talliour fil. meo spirituali j ovem. Itm. lego Ade de Holme ij b3 siliginis et ði quart aven'. Itm. do et lego residuum omnium bonorum meorum dictis Joñi de Holme et Margarete et Joñi Wawan de Wakefeld quos facio et constituo fore meos executores, etc. In cujus rei, etc. Fact' apud Erdeslaw festo et anno supradicto.

Probate granted last day of June, 1400, to D'ns John and John, Executors, power being reserved for Margaret, the relict of the deceased. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, iii, 39.)

PROBATE ACT OF ADAM TAILLOUR DE ERDESLAW.

Memo. quod primo die Octobris Anno d'ni Mil^{mo} cccc^{mo} probatum fuit testamentum Ade Taillour de Erdeslaw et com' ad Johi Kilchyff, Margarete uxori dicti defuncti Ade Walker et Thome filio dicti defuncti Executoribus in eodem testamento nominatis in forma constitucionis legat' etc. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, iii, 46.) (*Struck through in ink.*)

WILL OF ROBERT ABBOTT, OF AUSTHORPE, PAR. WHITKIRK.

In nomine patris et filii et Spiritus Sancti Amen. Be it had in mynd that I Ro^{bt} Abbott, of Awsthorpe, in the pishyng of Whitkyrke, hole of body and mynd, the vijth daye of April in the yere of our lord god mdij, ordayns and mak^e my testament in thys forme folowyng. fyrst I bequeath and giff my saull to God Almyghti, and to the moder of Mercy our lady Saynt Mary, and to all the holy company of hevyn. And my body to be beried in the kyrk or kyrkyerd whereas my frynd^e will in what pishing y^t it pleasith God to tak me to his marcy. Also I will that my best beist shall go to y^e kyrk in the name of my mortuary. Also I will that a preist have x^s for to say a trentall of messes for me and all my gud freyn^ds. Also I will y^t the howse of Saynt Robert of Knarisburgh have xij^d and the letter of my broderhod to pray for me as a broder of y^r house. Also I will y^t the frears of Pontefract have xij^d to pray for me as a broder of y^r hows. Also I will that the Gray frears of York have xij^d to pray for me as a broder of y^r house. Also I will that Johanna Abbott, doughter unto my broder Xpofer Abbott, have xx^s in peny and penyworth and v shepe. Also I will that my god doughter Elisabeth Hall have v shepe. Also I will y^t my godson Robert Munre have v shepe. Also I will that my servant Johanna Morton have thre shepe. Also I will y^t my servant John Cuke have two shepe. And also I will that this day that is to say the first day of March in y^e yere of our lord mdiiij, I beyng in gude bodely helth that all thyngs before bequest and gifvyn be fulfilled and doyne. And forthermer I will that the pishing of Blagburn have vj^s viij^d to the reparac'on of their kyrk for to pray for me and all myne. Also I will that the pishing of Swelington have x^s to y^e reparac'on of ther kyrk to pray for me. Also I will that the pishyng of Whitkyrk have for my beriall w^{tin} the said kyrk xx^d. Also for the light of thair torches xx^d. Also I will y^t the Township of Awsthorpe have xij^d to y^r light. Also I will that Will^{us} Clerkson have xx^{ti} shepe. Also I will y^t Elisabeth Hall have a white hedid cowe; the Residew of all my gude^e not bequest, my will fulfilled, my dette paid, and my body broght to y^e beriall and beried, I gyff and witt to Alyson Abbot my wyfe, James Hebylthwayt, and Will^m Clerkson myne executors, to dispose for my saulle after the sight and counsell of M^r Roger Dynelay. Thes witnessyng, Rawf Munre of Awsthorpe, Ro^{bt} Hall of Levynthorpe, Will^m Hall, gentylmen, Henry Best, Ro^{bt} Norton, Will^m Priston, husbandmen and Ro^{bt} Lister, pish Clerk of Whtekyrk.

Date of Probate not given, but ? 1504. (*Reg. Test. Ebor.*, vi, 125.)

Whitkirk Register.

TRANSCRIPTS AT YORK.

The Register of all the Christenings, Wedings and Burialls, which have bene at the pish Church of Whitkirke wthin the Dios' of Yorke this presente yeare of our Lord god 1600.

Isabell the daughter of Thomas Gibsonne was baptized the 4 daye of Maie,
1600

Alis the daughter of Robert Beckitt was baptized the xvjth daie of Maie

Thomas the sonne of John Browne was baptized the 29 daye of Maie

Christofer the sonne of Ro^{bt} Lee was bp. the 8 of June, Anno p'd

Susan the daughter of Henrye Moore was bp. the 13 of June, Anno p'd

Timothie the sonne of M^r Richard Tharold was bp. the 24 daie of June

Elizabeth the daughter of Wi^lm Beckitt was bp. the xvjth daie of Julye

Alis the daughter of Thomas Dawsonne was bp. the 25 of Julie, a'o p'd

John the sonne of Robert Heald was bapt. the 6 of August, a'o p'd

Fraunce the daughter of Thomas Waddsworth, a Bastard, was bapt.
the 10 of August, a'o p'd

Michaell the sonne of Roger Clarksonne was bp. the 22 of Auguste, a'o p'd

Elline the daughter of John Baxter was bp. the xxij of August, a'o p'd

Richarde the sonne of Rowland Sedgewicke, a Bastarde, was bp. the 24
of August, a'o p'd

Anne the daughter of Robert Leede, a bastard, was bapt. the 24 of August

George the sonne of George Thornton was bapt. the 7 of September, a'o p'd

Alis the daughter of Henrye Monsye was bp. the 28 of September, a'o p'd

Issabell the daughter of Thomas Rawson was bp. the 8 of October, a'o p'd

Elizabeth the daughter of Richorye Braime was bp. the 18 of October

Richard the sonne of M^r Henrye Hancocke was bp. the 26 of October

Wi^lm the sonne of Anthonye Rawson was bapt. the eight day of December

Robert the sonne of Richard Pease was bapt. the 10 of December, a'o p'd

Elizabeth the daughter of John Scofeild was bp. the 14 of December, a'o p'd

Katheran the daughter of Thomas Robinson was bapt. the 23 of December

Christofer the sonne of John Tomson was bapt. the 30 of Januarie

Martyne the sonne of Wi^lm Hubye was bp. the 1 of Februarye, a'o p'd

Thomas the sonne of Roger Flather was bp. the 1 daye of February

James the sonne of Robert Bellobye was bp. the 1 of Februarye, a'o p'd

Alis the daughter of Peter Beverley was bp. the 1 day of February

Anne the daughter of Christofer Ellis was bp. the 13 of Februarye, a'o p'd

Christofer the sonne of Roger Norton was bp. the 14 of Februarye

Nicholas the sonne of Michaell Cloughe was bp. the 22 of Februarye

Mathias the sonne of Wi^lm Tiplin was bapt. the 24 of Februarye

Anne the daughter of Robert Headley was baptized the 11 of March, a'o p'd

WEDDINGS

Thomas Rawson and Jaine Barrowclough were maryed the 6 day of Aprill
 Matthew Rider and Jaine Thornell were maryed the 1 of June
 John Fearne and Agnes Gregge were marryed the thirde day of June
 Christofer Ellis and Katheran Jatherill' were maryed the 1 of Julie
 Thomas Inglebye and Jaine Blackburne were maryed the 5 of October
 John Hemsworth and Ellinge Cloughe were married the 7 of October
 Roger Flather and An Marshall were maryed the 16 of November
 Richard Adcocke and Margaret Shelito were maryed the 9 of December
 Richard Juit and Susan Sowden were maryed 17 of Februarye

BURIALLS

Raph Clough was Buryed the xxvijth of Marche
 Thomas Beckitt was Buryed the second of Aprill
 Charles Nicholls was Buried the eight day of Aprill
 Thomas Stocke was buried the eight daye of Maie
 Christopher Jenkingson was buried the nynth daye of Maye
 Jennit the daughter of Mathew Dowker was Buried the xxixth of Maie
 John the son of Bryan Hardwicke was buried the firste of September
 Jennit the wyfe of James Swindell was buried the 5 of September
 Elizabeth Thornton, wydowe, was buried the 22 of September
 Elizabeth the daughter of Michaell Saner was buried the laste of October
 Mathew Dynison was buried the 21 daye of Nouember
 Fraunce the daughter of John Sikes was buried the xxvijth of November
 Wiłm the sonne of Anthonye Rawson was buried the xjth of December
 Elizabeth Hollinge was buried the 12 of December
 Katheran the daughter of Robert Dover was buried the 15 of December
 Elizabeth Norton, the wyfe of Peter Norton, was buried the 16 of December
 Peter Norton was buried the xvijth daye of December
 Jaine the daughter of Thomas Robinson was buried the 23 of December
 George Thornton was buried the xiiijth daye of Januarye
 Elizabeth the wyfe of John Browne was buried the xvth of Januarye
 Edmonde the sonne of Roger Norton was buried the xvjth daye of Januarye
 Leonard Hutchingson the sonne of Wiłm Hutchingson was buried the 3
 of Februa'

Dorcas the daughter of Wiłm Adcocke was buried the 3 of Februarye
 Wiłm the sonne of Raph Greenburye was buried the 9 of Februarye
 Richard the sonne of Rowlande Sedgwick was buried the 22 of Februarye
 Jennett the wyfe of John Gregge was buried the xjth of Marche
 Jennitt Lumbe was buried the xjth daye of Marche

A perfect Regester Booke of all Christenings, Weddings & burialls
 which haith been either Christened, married or buried within this our
 sayde pishe of Whitchurche, since y^e year of oure Lord God 1601 vnto
 this p'sent yeare 1602 nowe lattlie begoone, written by the consentes
 and procurmente of James Swinden of Halton and Ric' Greegges of
 Killingbecke, Churchwardens for this yeare to come 1602.

IMPRIMIS CHRISTENINGES AN'O DOM' 1601

Marie the daughter of John Heald was baptized the xxvth daye of Marche,
 1601

Thomas the son of Ric' Thomson was bp. the xxx daye of Marche, 1601

Thomas the sone of John Norton was bp. the xxx daye of Marche, 1601
 John the sone of Robert Burtone was bp. the xix daye of Aprill, 1601
 Henrie the sonne of George Killingbecke was bp. the xx daye of Aprill, 1601
 Charles the son of Thomas Robenson was baptised the ix of Maye, 1601
 Margaret the daughter of Thomas Hardwicke was bp. the xxx daye of
 Maye, 1601

Elizabethe the daughter of Joh. Hemsworthe was baptised the ix daye of
 June, 1601

Michaell the sone of Ric' Gregges was baptised the xv daye of Julie, 1601
 Marie the daughter of Thomas Brodbent was baptised the xxij daye of
 Julie, 1601

Elizabeth the daughter of George Carter was baptised the xxij of August,
 1601

Martin the son of Marmaduke Sickes was baptised the xxvij of September
 Henrie the sone of Roger Barnbie was baptised the iiij daye of Nouember
 Michaell & Bryane the sonnes o' Williame Allen weare baptised the vij of
 Nouember, 1601

Henrie the sonne of Robert Freemā was baptised the xxix of Nouember
 Elizabethe the daughter of Henrie Hancocke was baptised the xvij o'
 Januarie, 1601

Dorrithe the daughter of Thomas Hartlaye was baptised the xij of
 Februarie, 1601

Elinor the daughter of George Haire was baptised the xix of Februarie, 1601
 Issabell the daughter [of] Willia' Danyel was baptised the xxi of Februarie
 Edmund the son of Symond Bennet was baptised the xij of Marche, 1601
 Henrie the sone of Thomas Boocke was baptised the xxv of Marche, 1601
 Gilbert the son of Gilbert ? [Rishe] was baptised the xxv of Marche, 1602

SEQUNTUR NUPTIÆ AN'O DOM' 1601

Imprimis George Hollinges & Jan' Butler was married the xv of Auguste
 James Blackeburne & Elizabethe Thornton was married the x day of
 Nouember, 1601

Michaell Wrooe and Ann Addamson was married the xvij of Nouember, 1601
 Connone Greenne of Newton in the Willowes and Alisse Winterburne
 of this pishe was married the xij daye of Aprill, 1602

BURIALLS AN'O DO'NI 1601

Ric' Thomsone was buried xix of Aprill, 1601

An' the daughter of John Beverlaye was buried the ix of Maye, 1601

James Burton the iij of June, 1601

Widow Shephard was buried the vij of Jun', 1601

Adam Preston was buried the xvij of June, 1601

Margaret the daughter of Thomas Hardwicke was buried the xxiiij of
 June, 1601

John Heald was buried the xxvj of June, 1601

Thomas the sone of John Browne was buried the v of Julie

Sisseley the daughter of W^m Wellande was buried the v of Julie

John Collinson was buried the x of Julie

Ric' the sone of John Thorpe was buried the xij of Auguste

John the sone of Nicholas Northe was buried the xvij of Auguste

Marie Lawe the wiffe of Nicholas Northe was buried the xxij of Auguste

Peter the sone of Nicholas Wrooe was buried the xxiiij of Auguste
 Henrie Turton was buried the xvj of September
 Johan the daughter of Ric' Juhite was buried the xxvij of September
 Elizabethe the daughter of Peter Nortone was buried the xxvij of Sept.
 John the sone of Ric' Hemsworth was buried the xxviiij of September
 Joan the daughter of Ric' Haddocke was buried the firste of Nouember
 Margaret Carter the wiffe of Willia' Carter was buried the xvij of Nouember
 Jann' the daughter of Mathew Hemsworth was buried the xxj of Nouember
 Frauncies the daughter of Margaret Dowcare was buried the xj of December
 James Bramfoote was buried the xvj of December
 George Oweenn' was buried the xxv of December
 George the sone of Leonarde Hutchinsone was buried the ij daye of
 Januarye, 1601
 Willia' the son of Charles Niccoles was buried the iiij of Januarye
 Thomas the son of John Collinsone was buried the x of Januarie, 1601
 John the son of John Thornton was buried the firste of February, 1601
 Elynor the daughter of John Baxter was buried the xj of February
 Elinor the daughter of Henrie Hancocke was buried the xiiij of February
 Robert Dover was buried the xv of Februarie
 Ann the wiffe of Ric' Carter was buried the xxvj of February
 Christofer the son of Robert Lighe was buried the v of Marche, 1601

[NOTE.—The Registers of Whitkirk 1603–1700 are printed in the
 “Records of the Parish of Whitkirk” by Messrs. Platt and Morkill.]

Adel Register.

TRANSCRIPT AT YORK.

Adle CHRISTNINGS IN ADLE PARISH ANNO DNI 1600

Jane daughter of Robarte Mylner was christned y^e xxv of Maie, 1600
Ellyn daughter of Edward Seward was christned y^e xx day of Julie, 1600
Marie daughter of Cutbard Wilson was christned y^e xxviiij of Julie
Elizabeth Preistlay daughter of Richard Preistlay was christned the fyrst
day of August, 1600

Henrye Tomlynson, sonn of Henry Tomlynson, was christned the xvj
day of August

Michaell sonne of Henrye Waite was christned y^e xxviiij of Septe'ber
Agnes daughter of Richard Buckle was christned y^e 3 day of Noue'ber
Adā sonne of Adam Whythead was christned y^e xxx day of Nouember
Frauncys daugt' of Robte Slyngesbe was christned y^e viij of Dece'ber
Alis daughter of John Birde was christned the fyfte day of Januarie
John sonne of John Mydglay and Peter sonne of Thomas Speighte was
christned the xij day of Januarie

Marye daughter of John Wayte was christned y^e 2 day of February
Samuell sonne of Wyllyam Foster was christned the second of Februarye
Agnes daughter of Abrahā Briggs was christned the xx day of Februarye
Adle, 1600. BURYALLS IN ADLE PARISHE ANNO D'NI 1600

Agnes Ardington was buried y^e xxij day of Julye, 1600

Margarette Preystlaye, wyfe of Robte. Preystlaye, was buried the xj day
of Auguste

Elyzabeth Scattcharde was buried the first day of Noue'ber

Thomas Fearnelay was buried the xx day of Januarye

Adle WEDDINGS IN ADLE PARYSHE 1600

Roger Pickerynge and Grace Mydglaye was marryed the third day of
Julye, 1600

Richard Smythe, wydowe, and Agnes Mydglay, wydowe, was married
the vj day of Auguste, 1600

John Wylkynson and Anne Bower was married the xxij of Dece'ber,
Anno Dni. 1600, finis

per me Richardu' Websteru' clericu'

× Thomas Speight marke × Thomas Birkenshaye marke

Churchwardens

[NOTE.—The Registers of Adel 1606–1812 have been printed by
the Thoresby Society in Vol. V of their publications.]

G. D. L.

SUBSIDY ROLL OF THE Wapentake of Skyrack, 1610.

The following lay subsidy was granted to King James I in 1610, after the remonstrance against previous impositions and Lord Salisbury's declaration of the King's intention to revoke those that resembled internal taxes. (Dowell on *Taxes*, vol. i, p. 224.)

The taxpayers were divided into two classes: (1) landowners, who were charged in respect of their income from land "in terris," and (2) persons charged in respect of their movables "in bonis," which included crops from land, but none were to be doubly charged. Aliens resident in the kingdom were charged double, and an exemption was allowed for persons having less than xxs. in value. (*Ibid.*, p. 193.) Copies of the subsidy rolls of the Wapentake of Skyrack for 1621 and 1627 were printed in the publications of the Society, vol. ii, p. 62, *Miscellanea*.

The roll of which the following is a copy is written on three membranes.

[Membrane 1]

West Riding }
Com Ebor }

Wapentag' de Skiracke.

Extractus Wapent' de Skiracke inf' dcñ Westrid' Com' p'd' pro collecōe et soluōe scde soluōis conceſs excell' Principi Dño ñro Jacobo nunc Regi Anglie hered' et successoribꝫ suis in Parlamento suo apud Civitat' suam Westm' decimo nono die Marcii aº regni sui Anglie Francie et Hib'nie primo et Scocie xxxvi^{mo} inchoat' et iñm tent' ac deinde p diversas prorogacōes usque ad et in novem diem Februarii anno regni sui Anglie Francie et Hib'nie septimo et Scocie xliiiº prorogat' et tunc iñm sititer tent' et a laicis conceſs Taxat' scdm formam statut' put inferius patet Cuius quidem extractus una ps delibat' fuit Waltero Stannope de Horsforth in Com' p'd' generoso principall' Collector' Wapent' p'd' xxvº die Marcii anno dñi Regis Anglie Francie et Hib'nie nono et Scocie xliiiiº ad colligend' et recipiend' p'd' scdm soluōem dñi subsidii in Wapentag' p'dco ac illud subsid' in Scdm dñi Regis ad vel ante primum diem Maii pñ futur' solvend' scdm formam et effm Act' sive Statut' inde fact' Sigillat' et delibat' p nos Thomam Fairfax et Johem Jackson milites inter al' ad taxand' dcm subsid' in Wapentag' pdco.

ALLERTON BY WATER.

Sr Thomas Bland, Kt. ...	...	in terris	...	xxj ^{li}	—	xxvijs
Ričus Wilkynson	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij ^d
				Sum' ville	—	xxxs viij ^d

ABBERFORTH.

Petrus Loft	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Ričus Ellsworth	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Thomas Pearson	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
				Sum' ville	—	vs viij ^d

AUSTROPPE.

Nichus Moore	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Gabriell Laiton	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Nichus Clough	...	...	in terris	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Vxor Hobson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs

Sum' ville — xijs iiij*d*

ADDLE CU' ECOPPE.

Gilbtus Kyrke	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Samuell Midgeley	...	...	in terris	...	xxvjs viij <i>d</i>	—	js ix <i>d</i> ob.
Ričus Kirke	...	...	in terris	...	xxvjs viij <i>d</i>	—	js ix <i>d</i> ob.
Xpoferus Kirke	...	...	in terris	...	xxvjs viij <i>d</i>	—	js ix <i>d</i> ob.
Wittus Foster	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Wittus Ellys	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Henricus Northouse	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Cutb'tus Dawson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs

Sum' ville — xviijs iiij*d* ob.

ALLWOODLEY.

Robtus Francke, geñ	...	...	in terris	...	vli	—	vjs viij <i>d</i>
Ričus Francke, geñ	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Franciscus Wetherell	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Henricus Skelton	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs

Sum' ville — xvs viij*d*

ALLERTON' CHAPPELL'.

Robtus Killingbeck fil' Wittmi K.	...	...	in terris	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	vs iiij <i>d</i>
Clement Hodgson	...	...	in terris	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	vs iiij <i>d</i>
Thomas Marshall	...	...	in terris	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Joñes Thawaytes et mater eius	...	...	in terris	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Cecilea Thwayt <i>f</i>	...	...	in terris	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Vxor Killingbecke	...	...	in terris	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Thomas Killingbecke	...	...	in terris	...	iiij <i>li</i> xs	—	vjs
Robtus Killingbecke	...	...	in terris	...	ls	—	iijs iiij <i>d</i>
Rog'us Pickering	...	...	in terris	...	xxxs	—	ijs
Joñes Whaley	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Georgius Marshall	...	...	in terris	...	xxvjs viij <i>d</i>	—	js ix <i>d</i>
Joñes Fladther	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Wittus Tottie	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Martin Thwayt <i>f</i>	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs

Sum' ville — xlijs ix*d* ex.

ARTHINGTON.

Wal'us Arthington	...	...	in terris	...	xiiij <i>li</i>	—	xviijs viij <i>d</i>
Thomas Wood	...	...	in terris	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Ričus Midgley	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Matheus Skatchard	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs

Sum' vill' — xxviijs viij*d* ex.

BARDSEY.

Wittus Marshall	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Joñes Cloughe	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Thomas Allen	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Maria Oglethorpe	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Elizabetha Cloughe	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Thomas Williamson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs
Anna Wood	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iijs

Sum' ville — xxiijs iiij*d*

BARWICKE IN ELLMETT.

Joñes Gascoigne	...	...	in terris	...	xiiij <i>li</i> vjs viij <i>d</i>	—	xvijs ix <i>d</i>
John Ellys	...	...	in terris	...	viiij <i>li</i>	—	xs viij <i>d</i>
Ričus Vevers, Jun'	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Joñes Taylor	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Thomas Rawson	...	...	in terris	...	xxxs	—	ijs
Robtus Sayner	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>

Johes Preston	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Matheus Bilbroughe	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Petrus Saxton	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij ^d
Robtus Jeffreryson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Johes Hardcastle	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Valentin' Topcliffe	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Waltus Shann	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Wittus Danyell	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Henricus Brayne	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Sum' ville				—	lxs	vd	

BRAMHOPP.

Sr Robtus Dyneley, K ^t	...	...	in terris	...	xiiij ^{li} vjs viij ^d	—	xvijs ixa
Wittus Hartley	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Jacobus Appleyard	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Georgius Robynson	...	...	in bonis	...	viij ^{li}	—	viijjs
Petrus Oldred	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Sum' ville				—	xxxjs	vd	

Sum' tot' xiiij^{li} ixs vj^d[Membrane 1 *dorso*]

BURLEY.

Wittus Stead	...	..	in terris	...	ls	—	iijs iiij ^d
Edmundus Maud	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij ^d
Godfredus Petty	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Antonius Stead	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Wittus Vavasour	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Thomas Wrose	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Sum' ville				—	xvjs	iiij ^d	

BAILDON.

Nichus Stead	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij ^d
Stephus Hudson	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Vxor Bower	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Wittus Stead	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Edrus Bynns	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Jacobus Midgley	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Franciscus Mitton	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Nichus Bayley	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Sum' ville				—	xxs	iiij ^d	

BYNGLEY.

Antonius Walker	...	...	in terris	...	iiij ^{li}	—	vs iiij ^d
Abrahamus Bynnes	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij ^d
Stephus Francke	...	...	in terris	..	xxxxs	—	ijs
Johes Rawson	...	..	in terris	..	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Johes Oldfield	...	...	in terris	...	xxxxs	—	ijs
Michael Dobson	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Walt'us Wooler	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Arthurus Rawson	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Thomas Murgatroyd	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Henricus Lytster	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Samuell Langbotham	...	...	in terris	..	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Antonius Rawson	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Edrus Brooksbancke	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Samuell Wilkynson	..	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Johes Dobson	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Isabella Currer	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Johes Longe	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Johes Millner	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Thomas Blakey	...	...	in bonis	..	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Wittus Waddington	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Ricus Whitticars	...	...	in bonis	..	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Thom' Leach	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Robtus Leach	..	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs

Ričus Hudson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs
Witthms Midgley	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	lvijjs	viiij ^d

CARLETON.

Nichus Slayter	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs
Vxor Cave	...	...	in terris	...	iiij/l	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	vijjs	

COLLINGHAM.

Robtus Foster	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs
Witthms Chambers	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs
Randell Chambers	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs
Thomas Thompson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs
Robtus Hopwood	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs
Xpoferus Snawdon	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xxiijs	

GIESLEY.

Robtus More, cl'ic	...	...	in terris laicis	xxs	—	js	iiij ^d
Johnes Rawson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs
Xpoferus Peele	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs
Thomas Jackson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xs	iiij ^d

GARFORTH.

Cutbtus Wytham	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs	viiij ^d
Issabella Hemsworth	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs	viiij ^d
Henricus Gascoigne	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
Johnes Prince	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
Witthms Dawson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
				Sum' ville	—	xiijs	iiij ^d	

HORSFORTH.

Johnes Grene	...	...	in terris	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
Walterus Stanhoop	...	...	in terris	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
Ričus Litster	...	...	in terris	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
Laurencius Pollard	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs	viiij ^d
Johnes Craven	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs	viiij ^d
Antonius Saxton	...	...	in terris	...	xxxs	—	ijs	
Ričus Midgley	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js	iiij ^d
Johnes Hunter	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js	iiij ^d
Ričus Lambert	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js	iiij ^d
Johnes Wright	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js	iiij ^d
Robtus Thornton	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js	iiij ^d
Stephanus Cowper	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js	iiij ^d
				Sum' —		viiij/l	xvjs	

[Membrane 2]

Johnes Thorneton	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
Thomas Thoŕton	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
				Sum' ville	—	xxxiijs	iiij ^d	

HEDDINGLEY CU' BURLEY.

Johnes Kent	...	...	in bonis	...	v/l	—	vs	
Abrahamus Hinchcliffe	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
Samuell Burdett	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
Henricus Foxcrofte	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
Georgius Dyson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
Edfus Haighe	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
				Sum' ville	—	xxjs		

HARWOODE.

Thomas Holt	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
Witthms Coward	...	...	in bon'	...	iiij/l	—	iijs	
				Sum' ville	—	vjs		

HAWKESWORTH.

Walterus Hawkesworth, aī	...	in ter'is	...	xxli	—	xxvjs viij <i>d</i>
Hugo Shearburne, ar'	...	in terris	...	vjli xiijs iiij <i>d</i>	—	viijs xd ob.
Wittus Thompson	...	in terris	...	vjli xiijs iiij <i>d</i>	—	viijs xd ob.
Thomas Dixson	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Ričus Rodes	...	in bonis	...	iiijli	—	iijs
Thomas Baildon	...	in bonis	...	iiijli	—	iijs
Wittus Dixson	...	in bonis	...	iiijli	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	lvs ix <i>d</i>

ILKLEY.

Wittus Rogers	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Wittus Cromocke	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Georgius Metcalfe	...	in terris	...	xxxs	—	ijs
Xpoferus Baynton	...	in bonis	...	iiijli	—	iijs
Wittus Wayd	...	in bonis	...	iiijli	—	iijs
Johnes Holmes	...	in bonis	...	iiijli	—	iijs
Thomas Teyle	...	in bonis	...	iiijli	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xixs iiij <i>d</i>

KIPPAX.

Ričus Gray	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Thomas Prince	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Henricus Hemsworth	...	in bonis	...	vjli	—	vjs
Thomas Taylor	...	in bonis	...	iiijli	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xiijs

KESWICKE EAST.

Georgius Dawson	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Robtus Kaye	...	in terris	...	xxxs	—	ijs
Robertus Sutton	...	in terris	...	xxxs	—	ijs
Osweldus Dawson	...	in terris	...	xxxs	—	ijs
Johnes Labrone	...	in bonis	...	vjli	—	vjs
Henricus Pullayn	...	in bonis	...	iiijli	—	iijs
Wittms Harrison	...	in bonis	...	iiijli	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xxs viij <i>d</i>

MORTON.

Johnes Risheworth, geñ	...	in terris	...	vjli	—	viijs
Arthur' Mawde	...	in terris	...	iiijli	—	iijs
Alexus Wood	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Johnes Baystowe	...	in terris	...	xxxs	—	ijs
Wittus Leach	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Thomas Fell	...	in bonis	...	vli	—	vs
Arthurus Currer	...	in bonis	...	iiijli	—	iijs
Wittus Hainworth	...	in bonis	...	iiijli	—	iijs
Xpoferus Willson	...	in bonis	...	iiijli	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xxxjs viij <i>d</i>

LEEDES MAINRIDINGE.

Johnes Falkingh'm	...	in terris	...	xli	—	xiijs iiij <i>d</i>
Johnes Cowper	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Johnes Fairberne	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Johnes Parker	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Barnard Lodge	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Gracia Cowper	...	in terris	...	xxvjs viij <i>d</i>	—	js ix <i>d</i>
Thomas Killingbecke	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Leonardus Stable	...	in terris	...	ls	—	iijs iiij <i>d</i>
Adamus Baynes	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Milo Douglas	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Jacobus Iles	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Johnes Pomfrett	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Johnes Hastell	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Matheus Hudson	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Henricus Litster	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>

Wittus Ingram	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Xpoferus Wharton	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Katherina Jefferson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Wittus Wemersley	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Wittus Sympson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Georgius Netherwood	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Thomas Pickard	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Johnes Slaiter	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs

Sum' — iiij^{li} js ja

LEEDES TOWN.

Johnes Shann	...	...	in terris	..	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Samuell Casson	...	...	in terris	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Adamus Hargrave	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij ^d
Alex'us Stainley	...	...	in terris	...	xxxxs	—	ijs
Elizabetha Cowper	..	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij ^d
Edfus Savell	...	...	in terris	...	xxxxs	—	ijs
Alexus Robinson	...	...	in terris	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs

Sum' tot' — xiiij^{li} ix^s ijd

[Membrane 2 *dorso*]

Wittus Aldred	..	...	in terris	...	xxiijs iiij ^d	—	js vjd ob.
Wittus Pullayn	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij ^d
Ricus Reame	...	...	in ter'	...	xxxxs	—	ijs
Wittus Strickland	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij ^d
Walrus Laicock	...	...	in terris	...	xlv ^s	—	ijs xd
Augustu[s] Jenkynson	...	...	in terris	...	xxxxs	—	ijs
Wittus Walton	..	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Jacobus Sykes	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Thomas Greathead	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Josias Jenkynson	...	...	in terris	...	xlijs iiij ^d	—	ijs viij ^d
Alexus Lindall	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Johnes Harrison	...	...	in bonis	...	vli	—	vs
Johnes Metcalfe	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li} xiijs iiij ^d	—	iijs iiij ^d
Robtus Greathead	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li} xiijs iiij ^d	—	iijs iiij ^d
Abrahamus Jenkynson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Wittus Brooke	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Thomas Reame	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Thomas Jackson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li} xs	—	iijs vjd
Wittus Willson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li} xs	—	iijs vjd
Thomas Funtans	..	...	in bonis	...	vli	—	vs
Thomas Hudson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li} xs	—	iijs vjd
Johnes Marshall	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Georgius Nettleton	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Vxor Bussee	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li} xs	—	iijs vjd
Ricus Sykes	...	...	in bonis	...	vli	—	vs
Wittus Lodge	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Wittus Jenkynson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Thomas Tempest	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Alexus Metcalfe	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Wittus Greenwood	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Xpoferus Grenefield	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs
Josephus Goodale	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^{li}	—	iijs

Sum' ville — vli xviijs ijd

LEEDES KIRKGATE.

Wittus Kaie	...	...	in terris	...	xxxxs	—	ijs
Georgius Grene	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Xpoferus Dawson	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Robtus Dixson	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Ed'us Bolton	..	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Wittus Grave	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Henricus Walton	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Robertus Simson	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d

Matheus Cowper	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Ed'us Brooke	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
Franciscus Fether	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
Agnet' Curtice	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
Marger' Mawson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
Johnes Hill	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xxvijs viij ^d	

MENSTON.

Johnes Brearey	...	...	in terris	...	iiij ^l	—	vs iiij ^d
Galfridus Pickard	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij ^d
Wittus Fournace	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Wittus Mawde	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Johnes Roodes	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
				Sum' ville	—	xijs	

OTTLEY.

Ričus Dunwell, Sen'	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij ^d
Xpoferus Cave, Jun'	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij ^d
Georgius Burnett	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij ^d
Thomas Fletcher	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Laurencius Bucktrowte	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Ričus Dunwell, iun'	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Franciscus Hogg	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Jacobus Pickard	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Laurencius Hogg	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Anthonius Ward	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Wittus Flesher	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Xpoferus Cave, Sen'	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Jacobus Daid	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Leonardus Fletcher	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
Rohtus Turner	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xxvijs iiij ^d	

PERLINTON.

Ed'rus Smyth	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
Leoñdus Sampson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
Leoñdus Harbory	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xjs	

POWLE.

Georgius Gascoigne, aī...	...	...	in terris	...	iiij ^l	—	vs iiij ^d
Heredes Francisci Laicocke	...	...	in terr'	...	iiij ^l	—	vs iiij ^d
Wittus Thomlinson	...	...	in terris	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
Franciscus Thomlinson	...	...	in terris	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
Georgius Laicocke	...	...	in terris	...	iiij ^l	—	vs iiij ^d
Wittus Hobson	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Wittus Waite	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij ^d
Henricus Dunwell	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xxixs viij ^d	

POTTER NEWTON.

Wittus Webster, ar'	...	...	in terris	...	xiiij ^l vjs viij ^d	—	xvijs ix ^d
Franciscus Lyndley	...	...	in terris	...	xxxxs	—	ijs
Thomas Ellys	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
Edrus Dyson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
Wittus Harryson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xxixs ix ^d	

RAWDEN.

Rohtus Oglesthorp	...	...	in terris	...	vj ^l	—	viijs
Georgius Rawdon	...	...	in terris	...	iiij ^l	—	vs iiij ^d
Johnes Hall	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij ^l	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xvjs iiij ^d	

SWILLINGTON CU' PRESTON.

Georgius Dynley	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Franciscus Dynley	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Georgius Hemsworth	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Lancelot' Grave	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>

Sum' — xij*li* xvj*s* iiij*d*

[Membrane 3]

Thomas Stable	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Alicia Hall	...	...	in terris	...	xliij <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i>	—	ij <i>s</i> xd
Arthur' Hird	...	...	in terr'	...	xx <i>s</i>	—	j <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i>

Sum' ville — xx*s* ij*d*

ROUNDLEY[HAY].

Michael' Willson	...	...	in bonis	...	v <i>li</i>	—	v <i>s</i>
Jacobus Clough	...	...	in bonis	..	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Laurencius West	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>

Sum' ville — xj*s*

SEACROFTE.

Thomas Mather	...	...	in terris	...	xx <i>s</i>	—	j <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i>
Thomas Clerke	...	...	in terris	...	xx <i>s</i>	—	j <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i>
Riçus Greggs	...	...	in terris	...	xx <i>s</i>	—	j <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i>
Albon' Hancocke	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Connand Grene	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Wittus Wright	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>

Sum' ville — xiiij*s*

SHADWELL.

Wittus Oglethorpp	...	...	in terris	...	vij <i>li</i>	—	ix <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i>
Xpoferus Barker	...	...	in terris	...	xx <i>s</i>	—	j <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i>
Matheus Stephenson	...	...	in terris	...	xx <i>s</i>	—	j <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i>
Matheus Stiam	...	...	in terris	...	xx <i>s</i>	—	j <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i>
Wittus Stephensone	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Thomas Kitchinman	...	...	in bonis	..	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>

Sum' ville — xxj*s* iiij*d*

SKARCROFTE.

Henricus Ryther	in terris	...	xl <i>s</i>	—	ij <i>s</i> viij <i>d</i>
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Sum' ville — ij*s* viij*d*

THORNER.

Wittus Oglethorpp	in terris	...	xx <i>s</i>	—	j <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i>
Johes Barker	in terris	...	xx <i>s</i>	—	j <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i>
Matheus Dodgson	...	...	in terris	...	xxvj <i>s</i> viij <i>d</i>	—	j <i>s</i> ix <i>d</i>
Wittus Morrys	...	...	in terris	...	xx <i>s</i>	—	j <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i>
Relicta Thomæ Brooke	...	...	in terris	..	xx <i>s</i>	—	j <i>s</i> iiij <i>d</i>
Clement Greave	...	...	in bonis	...	v <i>li</i>	—	v <i>s</i>
Thomas Tuke	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>

Sum' ville — xvs j*d*

TEMPLE NEWSAM.

Edus Clough	...	...	in terris	...	v <i>li</i>	—	vj <i>s</i> viij <i>d</i>
Seithus Skelton	...	...	in terris	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Roðtus Eaues	...	...	in terris	...	xl <i>s</i>	—	ij <i>s</i> viij <i>d</i>
Tho: Corker	...	...	in terris	...	xxxx <i>s</i>	—	ij <i>s</i>
Franciscus Oglethorpe	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Matheus Hemsworth	..	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Franciscus Bellasse	..	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Michael' Bowth	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Georgius Loftus	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Jacobus Swindon	..	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>
Johes Held	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>li</i>	—	iiij <i>s</i>

Sum' ville — xxxvj*s* iiij*d*

WARDLEY.

Jacobus Rood[	...	...	in terris	...	xxs	—	js iiij <i>d</i>
Stephus Harryson	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>/i</i>	—	iijs
Ričus Pickard	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>/i</i>	—	iijs
Witthus Wayte	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>/i</i>	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xs	iiij <i>d</i>

WYKE.

Georgius Wylle	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>/i</i>	—	iijs
Ričus Wylie	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>/i</i>	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—		viijs

WYGTON.

Robtus Littlewood	...	...	in terris	...	v <i>/i</i>	—	vjs viij <i>d</i>
Radulphus Birdhead	...	...	in terris	...	xls	—	ijs viij <i>d</i>
Antonius Fletcher	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>/i</i>	—	iijs
Thomas Newsom	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>/i</i>	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xvs	iiij <i>d</i>

YEADON.

Matheus Hoppey	...	...	in terris	...	v <i>/i</i>	—	vjs viij <i>d</i>
Witthus Warde	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>/i</i>	—	iijs
Edrus Marshall	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>/i</i>	—	iijs
Johnes Collyer	...	...	in bonis	...	iiij <i>/i</i>	—	iijs
				Sum' ville	—	xvjs	viij <i>d</i>

Suñma tot' — vij*/i* xiijs x*d*

Suñma tota*t* omni' | lvi*/i* iijs iiij*d*
Extract' |

T. FAIRFAX (Seal)

J. JACKSONN (Seal)

SUBSIDY ROLL OF THE Wapentake of S kyrack, 1629.

This subsidy contains nearly the same names as that of 1627, printed in volume ii, page 74. The following are the additions. The omissions are also noted, and in this roll no recusants are taxed as such.

ALLERTON JUXTA AQUAM.

Arthur Chambers is omitted.

ADDLE CUM ECOPPE.

Thomas Midgley is omitted.

Wilfridus Harryson	in terr'	...	xxs	—	viijs
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ALWODLEY.

Witthmus King is omitted.

AWSTROPPE.

Ričus Hobson is omitted.

BARWICK IN ELLMET.

"Witthm Roydhouse" appears as "Witthm Woodhouse."

BRAMHOPPE.

Robertus Dyneley is omitted.

Dña Oliuia Dyneley ... in terr' ... v*l*i — xls

BYNGLEY.

Witmus Curren ... in terr' ... xls — xvjs

Robtus Blake appears as Robtus Blakey.

Henric' Butler and Ricus Hardy are omitted.

COLLINGHAM.

Robtus Foster is omitted.

Thomas Foster ... in bonis ... iiij*l*i — xviijs viij*d*

ILKLEY.

Maria Baynton vidua and vidua Slater are omitted.

KIPAXE.

Johes Baildon is omitted.

Franciscus Baildon ... in terr' .. xxxs — xijs

LEEDES KIRKGATE.

Thomas Jobson is omitted.

LEEDES MANERIDINGE.

Witms Dowglesse ... in terr' ... xxs — viijs

Ricus Bradley is omitted.

Johes Walker is described as of Park Lane.

MENSTON.

[blank] Baynton vid' ... in terr' ... xls — xvjs

OTLEY.

Xpoferus Parker is omitted.

Laurencius Flesher, Jun^r ... in terr' ... xxs — viijs

"Kittingall" is written "Gyttingall."

ROUNDHAYE.

Jacobus Cloughe ... in bonis ... iij*l*i — xvjs

Henric' Holmes and Rand'us Briggs are omitted.

SEACROFTE.

Connandus Grene ... in terr' ... xxs — viijs

TEMPLE NEWSAM.

Robtus Graveley ... in terr' ... xxs — viijs

Brianus Hardwick ... in terr' ... xxs — viijs

Thomas Corker, Benjamin Hardwicke and Witmus Heald are omitted.

YEADON.

Johes Marshall is omitted.

Sum' total — ccxlj*l*i xvjs

JOHN SAVILE (Seal)

H. SAVILE (Seal)

Four early charters of Arthington Nunnery

I have recently had the opportunity of inspecting and transcribing the following early deeds relating to the Cluniac Nunnery of Arthington. They have never, so far as I am aware, been printed before, and, indeed, do not seem to have been known to any writer on the subject of that house.

The first and much the most important of the deeds is a grant of a carucate of land at Burdon to the nuns, by Margaret de Redvers, lady of Harewood. It had always been rather a puzzle to me why the wealthy and powerful owners of Harewood, who were so liberal to the Priory of Bolton, seemed to have done so little for the small religious house which was so near their own dwelling. The only grant of land by them to the nuns, hitherto recorded, was a tract in Helthwaite, to which was added some pasture rights in the wood of Swinden—these places being on the north side of the Wharfe. This grant was made in the twelfth century by Avice de Rumilli.¹ But the present charter shows that at least one of Avice's descendants was also a benefactress to the Nunnery. The donor, Margaret de Redvers, was a great-granddaughter of Avice, and was descended in a direct line, although through females, from Robert de Rumilli, to whom the great estates of Harewood and Skipton had been originally granted. This Robert left an only daughter, Cecilia, to whom those estates descended, and who married William Meschin, a brother of Ranulf, Earl of Chester, and himself stated to have been Earl of Cambridge. They had two daughters, Avice the elder, who took the Harewood estate, and Alice the younger, who obtained Skipton. Avice married first William Paynel of Hooton Pag-nall, lord also of Cookridge and Adel; and secondly Robert de Courcy of Nuneham in Oxfordshire. By William Paynel she had only a daughter, but by Robert de Courcy she had a son, William, who inherited Harewood. William had an only

¹ Burton in the *Mon. Ebor.*, pp. 88-9, calls her Alice,—confusing her with her sister. This error also occurs in one of the charters printed in the new edition of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, iv, 520.

daughter, named Alice, who became the wife of Warin Fitzgerald, a royal chamberlain. Warin and Alice again left daughters only—Joan, who married Hugh de Neville, and Margaret, to whom the Harewood property was assigned. This was the Margaret of the charter under notice. I have thought it as well to give this short account, as the early descent of the Harewood property has sometimes been sadly confused. With a single exception, it invariably descended in the female line until the middle of the thirteenth century.

Margaret was probably born in the last years of the twelfth century. She was first the wife of Baldwin de Redvers, son of William, Earl of Devon, by whom she had a son, Baldwin, who succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Devon in 1217—Margaret's husband having died in the previous year. Soon after his death she was given in marriage by King John to Falkes de Bréauté, one of that monarch's leaders of mercenaries. Falkes was a genuine Norman, brave, unscrupulous, and capable. Under John, and in the early part of the reign of John's son, he rose to great power and wealth, became owner of many lands, was a steward of the Royal household, and keeper of several of the Royal castles. But in 1224 he rebelled against the Government of the young King Henry III. The castle of Bedford, held by his brother, William de Bréauté, for him, was besieged by the Royal forces and taken, William and most of the other defenders being promptly hung up; and Falkes then surrendered himself to the King. All his possessions were taken from him, and he was banished from the kingdom.

At this juncture Margaret came forward with a petition for the annulment of her marriage with Falkes, on the ground that she had been taken by force and married against her will. It does not appear that she obtained the divorce, but the early death of Falkes gave her the release she sought. He died in 1226.

Matthew Paris tells an anecdote concerning Falkes, which, though perhaps exaggerated, is characteristic of the man. In 1217 he plundered the town of St. Albans, and forced the Abbot to pay him a large sum of money. Some time afterwards he was frightened, by a vivid dream, into going to the Abbot and begging for absolution for this fault. He submitted to receive a scourging by the monks, but when it came to a question of restitution of the money he flatly declined to entertain the idea.

It was claimed upon his banishment that he owed certain debts to the Crown, and the King came upon his wife for satisfaction. She was obliged to make a fine with the Crown for payment of certain moneys, and in 1225 she had licence to mortgage or demise in fee for four years her property in order to acquit this fine. In 1229 she obtained royal letters allowing her to remain a widow, or, if she desired to remarry, to choose her own husband. For this she would probably also have to pay smartly, as the right of bestowing such an heiress in marriage was of considerable value to the Crown.

Margaret survived until 1252. Matthew Paris, in recording her death, is loud in her praise. He calls her the noble and generous Lady Margaret, and adds that she was "formerly the wife of that most bloodthirsty traitor Falkes—the noble united to the base, the pious to the impious, the handsome to the foul, unwillingly and under compulsion, the tyrant John giving her, who did not shrink from perpetrating any kind of villainy." Matthew was, of course, violently prejudiced against Falkes, who, reckless as he was, was not without his good points, and was certainly an able and fearless soldier. One of the chroniclers remarks that he was "little in body, but very valiant." After his banishment he went to Rome, and there so far made out a case that the Pope endeavoured to obtain permission for him to return to England, but in vain.

Margaret's son, Baldwin, Earl of Devon, had died in her lifetime, and she was succeeded in the Harewood estate by his son, another Baldwin, Earl of Devon. During her widowhood she had probably resided chiefly at Harewood, where no doubt the present charter was executed. Dodsworth, in his 144th volume, gives copies of several other charters granted by her during this period. Her ancestress, Cecilia de Rumilli, had granted to the Priory of Embsay (afterwards transferred to Bolton) the mills of Harewood, with a proviso that there should be no other mill in the parish of Harewood except at Brandon and Wigton. Margaret de Redvers confirmed the grant of the mills by a charter, which was attested by Thomas de Wycha, Wycham, or Wytham, parson of Harewood—an incumbent not mentioned by Torre in his list of the rectors of Harewood—and by several prominent local men, including Hugh de Leathley, Hugh de Weeton, Henry de Alwoodley, Henry de Gawthorpe, and Henry de Stubhouse. (*Dodsworth MSS.*, cxliv,

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Margareta de Redvers in mea pura viduitate et legitima potestate pro salute
 anime mee et omnium antecessorum et heredum meorum dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi deo et ec-
 clesie beate marie de archington et monialibus ibidem deo seruientibus unam carrucaram terre in Burgheden
 cum omnibus pertinentiis suis illam scilicet quam dedi Ricardus de mora tenendam et habendam deus monialibus de
 me et heredibus meis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Liberam et quietam ab omni seculari seruitio consuetudine
 exactione impositione et ab omni sectis et demandis et ab omni et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in bosco et pascuis
 et in pascuis in moris et in arboribus et in vineis et in quibuslibet et in quibuslibet cum omnibus libertatibus libere consu-
 et ego priores Margareta et heredes mei totam priorem carrucaram terre cum omnibus pertinentiis suis
 libertatibus et assismentis priores deus monialibus contra omnes homines in perpetuum warrantabimus adquirebimus
 et defendemus ita libere et quiete sicut ulla elemosina liberi et quieti warrantari potest adquirem ut de
 terra pro me quam per heredes meos sigillum meum apposui. Huius testibus. Dno Johanne vaunassore. Dno Ricardus de mora. Dno
 de Wynton. Henricus de Weststho. Elia de castelco. Radus de archington. Henricus de scrubhus. Willmo filius ei. Willmo
 de Alwaldeley. Rogerus de Hauhat. Henricus de saubothoro. et 1



Photo. by Godfrey Bingley.

CHARTER OF MARGARET DE REDVERS.

fo. 46*d*.) Peter de Marton quitclaimed to Margaret all the right which he had in the vills of Brandon and Wigton, namely in all the lands and tenements which he had previously given to Falkes de Bréauté, her late husband, except those lands which he had granted to Bolton Priory and to Thomas de Wyca; and Margaret, by the name of "Margeria de Ripariis, daughter and heir of Warin Fitz Gerold," then regranted to Peter all the land in Brandon and Wigton which he had given to her lord, Falkes de Bréauté, and afterwards to her. This deed is again witnessed by the parson, Thomas de Wycha, and also by some of the men who had attested Margaret's confirmation of the mills to Bolton Priory. (*Dodsworth MSS.*, cxliv, fo. 48.) Then Peter, son of William de Marton in Craven—doubtless the same man—granted to Bolton Priory all the lands of the vills of Wigton and Brandon, and as the witnesses are mostly the same men, this grant was probably simultaneous with or very soon after Margaret's regrant to Peter; and the subsequent charter to Bolton by Isabel de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle, granting Brandon and Wigton, was therefore only a confirmation of these vills, and not the original grant as Burton appears to consider. (*Mon. Ebor.*, p. 115.) Jones, in his *History of Harewood* (p. 25), refers to a charter by Margaret de Redvers, given in her widowhood, confirming to the nuns of Arthington the land in Helthwaite which her ancestress, Avice de Rumilli, had given them.

The witnesses to Margaret's deed copied below are all local men; most of the families they represent are noticed in the Thoresby Society's *Miscellanea*, vol. iv. The grant is not dated, but it was of course made between the date of Falkes' death in 1226 and that of Margaret in October, 1252; but from the names of the witnesses I think the date may probably be fixed rather more closely—between 1237 and 1251. A photograph of this deed accompanies the present paper. The seal is a curious and interesting one. It is of green wax, oval, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches long by 1 inch wide.¹ The legend is somewhat broken, but the words, "SECRETVM MARGARETE D' ERIIS," are plain. The seal bears in the base a shield, with two lions passant gardant; above this shield are two trefoils, each containing what appears to be a man's head, though this cannot be affirmed with

¹ The deed is $6\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. The Society is indebted to Mr. Godfrey Bingley for the accompanying photograph.

certainly; and above the trefoils is a star of five points over a crescent. The two lions I am unable to account for; they do not, so far as I am aware, occur in any recorded arms of the early FitzGerolds; the Redvers used a lion rampant, and Falkes de Bréauté, according to one of the manuscripts of Matthew Paris, bore a silver cinquefoil on a shield gules. In her widowhood Margaret seems to have consistently called herself by the name of her first husband.

It will be noticed that the carucate of land which Margaret gave the nuns had previously been granted to Richard de Mora. How it came to be again at her disposal I am unable to say. It was certainly not in consequence of the death of Richard de Mora, as he survived her at least ten years. This Richard was a man of some local importance in his day. He may, perhaps, have been a son of Henry de Mora, who witnesses a charter about 1200–1210. Richard first appears as bailiff (of Harewood) in a charter to Pontefract Priory, which Mr. Richard Holmes, editor of the chartulary of that house, dates "*circa* 1210," but which was almost certainly several years later. Thereafter his name appears pretty regularly in local charters. He witnesses charters by Adam de Wyton in 1237 (Dodsworth, viii, 83), by Ralph de Arthington in 1251, and by Alan de Creskeld in 1262. In the latter part of his life he is referred to as "*Dominus Ricardus de Mora*" and as "*Dominus Ricardus de Mora, miles*." Moor lands were then so general that it is difficult to say from which particular moor he took his name; but there was an old idea that it was the moor between Harewood and Allerton—whence, later, the name Moorallerton arose. Richard was living in 1262, as already mentioned, but in all probability he was dead by the spring of 1264, as his name does not occur in the Inquisition upon the death of Baldwin de Redvers, Earl of Devon and lord of Harewood, taken in that year. There is an undated charter by Hugh son of Fulk to the nuns of Arthington of land in Alwoodley, in which charter he (Hugh) refers to "*Richard de Mora my lord*," to whom a yearly rent of 12*d.* was due from the land. At Kirkby's Inquest, 1284–5, the only land returned for Alwoodley, except that held by the Alwoodley family, was a carucate then held by William de Brandon, who may possibly have been the heir of Richard de Mora.

The other three deeds given below are of somewhat later date than Margaret's charter. Adam de Stubhouse, the grantor

of No. 2, may have been the man named in Kirkby's Inquest as holding two carucates of land in Stubhouse—a vill now represented by a farm-house between Harewood and Eccup. Some further particulars respecting this family will be found in the Thoresby Society's vol. iv, p. 158. No. 3 is a confirmation of the pasture rights granted by No. 2.

No. 4 is a confirmation by William de Alwoodley of a grant of twenty waggon loads of turves, which grant Richard de Mora had made to the nuns; this was a valuable gift, and the turves perhaps formed the principal fuel supply of the Nunnery. The family which took its name from the vill of Alwoodley can probably be traced back to the middle of the twelfth century. Gamel de Alwoodley is named in the Pipe Roll of 13 Hen. II. Henry de Alwoodley, possibly a son or grandson of Gamel, occurs frequently as a witness in the first half of the thirteenth century. His son, William de Alwoodley, was the grantor of the present deed, and perhaps the father of a second William de Alwoodley, as we find a man of that name holding two carucates of land in the vill at the time of Kirkby's Inquest. Roger de Alwoodley died in 24 Edw. I, leaving four daughters coheiresses.

No. 1.

(Grant by Margaret de Redvers to the Church of the Blessed Mary of Arthington and the nuns serving God there, of a carucate of land in Burdon with the appurtenances, which she had given to Richard de Mora.)

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Margareta de Redueriis in mea pura viduitate et ligia potestate, pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et heredum meorum, dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Deo et Ecclesie Beate Marie de Arthington et monialibus ibidem Deo seruientibus unam carrucatam terre in Burghedon cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, illam scilicet quam dedi Ricardo de Mora. Tenendam et habendam dictis monialibus de me et heredibus meis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam liberam et quietam ab omni seculari servicio, consuetudine, exactione, impositione, et ab omnibus sectis et demandis et ab omni re, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in bosco et plano, in pratis et pascuis, in moris et mariscis et turbariis, in introitibus et exitibus, et ubique, cum omnibus libertatibus, liberis consuetudinibus, et aisiamentis ad predictam terram infra villam et extra pertinentibus sine retinemento vel

impedimento alicuius. Et ego prenominata Margareta et heredes mei totam prenominatam carrucatam terre cum omnibus pertinentenciis suis, libertatibus, et aisiamentis prenominais, dictis monialibus contra omnes homines in perpetuum warantizabimus, adquietabimus, et defendemus, ita libere et quiete sicut ulla elemosina liberius et quietius warantizari potest, adquietari, vel defendi. Et ut hec mea donatio, concessio, et confirmatio, perpetue firmitatis robur obtineat huic scripto tam pro me quam pro heredibus meis sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Domino Johanne Vauassore, Domino Ricardo de Mora, Adam de Wyton, Henrico de Westscho, Elya de Casteley, Radulfo de Arthington, Henrico de Stubhus, Willelmo filio eius, Willelmo de Alwaldeley, Rogero de Neuhal, Henrico de Gaukethorp, et aliis.

Seal, green wax, oval; a star over a crescent; immediately below two (heads ?) within trefoils, and below them a shield bearing two lions passant gard. SECRETVM MARGARETE D' ERIIS.

No. 2.

(Grant and quitclaim by Adam de Stubh[ouse], called the hunter, to the nuns serving God in the monastery of Arthington, of two essarts called Ulffriding and Lang'riding with the appurtenances in the territory of Weardley, and common of pasture of the vill of Weardley, as is contained in the deed which they have from Hugh Ruffus, for all their cattle lying within the territory of Arthington and Weardley.)

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Adam de Stubh' dictus venator salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra me, divine pietatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum, dedisse, concessisse, et presenti scripto confirmasse et omnino quietam clamasse pro me et heredibus meis monialibus in monasterio de Ardington Deo servientibus duo assarta que vocantur Ulffriding et Lang'riding, cum pertinentiis in territorio de Wiu'dlay, et communam pasture eiusdem ville de Wyu'dlay prout continentur in scripto quod habent de Hugone Ruffo omnibus animalibus suis cubantibus tam infra territorium de Hardington quam de Wiu'day (*sic*). Tenenda et habenda predictis monialibus libere, quiete, pacifice, et absolute ab omni seculari servicio, exactione, et demanda, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam in omnibus locis ubicunque communes pasture eiusdem ville jacent, et cum liberis introitibus et exitibus et omnibus libertatibus et aisiamentis

ad usum dicte commune necessariis, inperpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Magistro Gileberto de Bingelay, Dominis Ricardo de Goldesburg, Johanne de Ham'ton, militibus, Willelmo de Langeffelde, Thoma de Eltofft, Roberto de Ardington, Ricardo de Wygdon, Johanne de Scharcrofft, clerico, et aliis.

(Fragments of seal only.)

No. 3.

(Quitclaim by John de Holm to the nuns serving God in the monastery of Arthington, of common of pasture of the vill of Weardley for all their cattle lying within the territory of Arthington and Weardley.)

Universis Christi fidelibus presens scriptum visuris vel audituris Johannes de Holm salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra me, divine pietatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et animarum patris mei et matris mee et Katerine uxoris mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum, dedisse, concessisse, et presenti scripto confirmasse et omnino quietam clamasse pro me et heredibus meis monasterio Beate Marie de Ardigton' et monialibus ibidem Deo servientibus communam pasture de Wyv'deley omnibus animalibus suis cubantibus tam infra territorium de Ardigton' quam de Wiv'deley. Tenendam et habendam libere, quiete, pacifice, et absolute ab omni seculari servicio, exaccione, et demanda, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, in omnibus locis ubicumque communes pasture eiusdem ville jacent, et cum liberis introitibus et exitibus et omnibus libertatibus et aisiametis ipsis ad usum dicte commune necessariis. In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Magistro G. de Byngeley, Ricardo de Goldesburg, Johanne de Hamerton, Roberto de Ardigton, Ricardo de Wigedun, Alano de Lanaria, et aliis.

(Seal destroyed.)

No. 4.

(Confirmation by William son of Henry de Alwaldelay to the nuns of Arthington, of twenty waggon loads of turves yearly from the turbary of Alwaldelay, granted to them by Richard de Mora.)

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, Willelmus filius Henrici de Alwaldelay salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra [me] pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum meorum et heredum meorum concessisse,

quiete clamasse, et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et Beate Marie de Arthington et monialibus ibidem Deo servientibus viginti plaustratas turbarum singulis annis de turbaria de Alwaldelay capiendas et ad domum suam de Arthington pro voluntate sua cariendas, sine alicuius contradictione vel impedimento vel molestia aliqua, quas Dominus Ricardus de Mora dictis monialibus quondam caritative contulit, cuius donationem ratam habeo et gratam pro me et heredibus meis imperpetuum. Tenendas et habendas dictis monialibus in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam, libere, quiete, et pacifice. Ita quod nec ego prenominatus Willelmus nec heredes mei nec aliquis alius per nos vel pro nobis in dictis plaustratis turbarum in posterum jus vel clamium vendicabimus aut exigemus, set omnia predicta dictis monialibus de me et heredibus meis et de omnibus aliis quiete et solute remaneant inperpetuum, sine alicuius contradictione, gravamine, vel impedimento. Et ut hec mea donatio, concessio, et confirmatio perpetue firmitatis robur obtineat huic scripto, tam pro me quam pro heredibus meis, sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Domino Ricardo de Goldesburg, milite, Domino Roberto de Adel, Johannes (*sic*) Sampson de Touws, Ricardo de Wygedon, Willelmo de Hillum, clerico, Roberto de Arthington, Willelmo de Allerthon, et multis aliis.

(Oval seal, green wax, a star of eight points—S: WILLI DE WALDEL.)

W. T. L.



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Photo.—James Bacon & Sons.

ANCIENT CROSS-FRAGMENTS.
AS RESTORED IN LEEDS PARISH CHURCH.

The Early Crosses of Leeds.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE REMAINS.

It is dangerous for an antiquary to express approval of the rebuilding of ancient churches ; and yet "it is an ill wind that blows nobody good." Many pre-Norman monuments—valuable as evidence of a dark period—have been found in the course of "restoration" ; and those at Leeds, including the famous cross in the parish church, are the unexpected fruits of something which we might nowadays be tempted to call vandalism.

Thanks then to the vandals, those who built the stones into their church in the fourteenth century and those who destroyed the mediæval building in the nineteenth, we have more remains, in all probability, than if the crosses had been left standing in the churchyard ; for the number of such monuments surviving *in situ* is extremely small, and they occur only in the quietest and most out-of-the-way places ; and even there, only by the lucky accident of neglect. Building-in is a great preservative.

That church-builders treated monuments of an earlier age with no regard for their former sanctity, and without foresight of their later interest, is an old story. St. Wilfrid himself used Roman tombstones to build his crypt at Hexham. In his case he might have pleaded that they were heathen ; but at the building of St. Alban's Minster, the Norman abbot Paul (1077-1088) destroyed the tombs of his Saxon predecessors, on the ground that they were *rudes et idiotæ*, "technically inadequate," as a modern critic would say. (*Gest. Abb.*, i, 62, quoted by Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv, 395.) And though some offence seems to have been given at the time, his lead has been followed from that day to this. Recent instances might be quoted, but to name them would be indiscreet. The more excellent way was taken at Leeds by an architect, to whose credit must always be placed the recovery of these fragments

from the historic building he was commissioned to destroy. That in those early Victorian days (1838) he saw value in them, and saved them, is very much to Mr. Chantrell's honour.

The story as outlined here is put together from several sources :—

(1) Mr. R. W. Moore, some time Major in the Leeds Engineer Volunteers, and in 1838 articled pupil to Robert Dennis Chantrell, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., gave his account of the discovery in "A History of the Parish Church of Leeds . . . also an Account of the old 'Pillar' or 'Cross' found in the walls of the late Edifice" (1877). In this he embodies notes by Mr. H. W. Chantrell, the architect's son.

(2) The Rev. J. G. Simpson, once assistant-curate at Leeds, and now Canon of St. Paul's, London, gives the statements of Dr. Gott, afterwards Bishop of Truro, but Vicar of Leeds when the Church cross was recovered in 1877; see the Leeds Parish Church Magazine, Dec., 1891, and "St. Peter's at Leeds . . . by the late James Rusby, edited by James Gilliland Simpson" (1896).

(3) Mr. John Rawlinson Ford, who had a personal share in the recovery of the church cross, has kindly communicated his reminiscences, which clear up some apparent discrepancies in the other versions of the story.

Before the complete demolishing of the old church, and as early as 1809, the south wall had been taken down, and many fragments of an older fabric had been found, among which was the head of a "Saxon" wheel-cross (Moore, p. 3). The tower, dating from the reign of Edward III, was pulled down in 1838, and in its walls were the stones of the church cross (*ibid.*, pp. 7, 54). The following passage is quoted by Major Moore from a letter, apparently to *The Builder*, Aug. 12, 1865, by Mr. Chantrell, Junior :—

In pulling down the tower, Mr. Chantrell's attention was called to the curious interlaced 'Runic' characters on some of the stones as they lay among the debris, and his curiosity and antiquarian knowledge was at once aroused. We searched for others, found them, and rewards were offered by Mr. Chantrell to the workmen who should find and bring him any carved stones. By this means he got together a large collection, and had them removed to his residence, Oatlands House, Little London, where, by carefully and minutely

examining them (and by the careful use of the chisel, dilute acids, etc.), removing the lime and plaster thereon, he succeeded in obtaining sufficient in time to enable him to decipher the form of the entire pillar, and by making drawings of each part as successively brought to him, and by measuring them carefully, he was enabled to fit them together, and thus get one all but perfect (p. 54).

Moore also says:—

Many more fragments of broken crosses . . . were found . . . built into the walls of the old church . . . Mr. Chantrell stated that he had every reason to believe that all the remaining portions of this and six other pillars were in Leeds, as very many fragments were taken away in *cartloads*, after he had given these relics *an interest* by his lecture on the discovery (p. 56). [The italics are Moore's.]

Upon his [Mr. Chantrell's] removal from Leeds, he took this most interesting relic with him to his residence at Newington Butts, London, and from thence to his residences in the south of England, and where it formed a pleasing object in his garden. It is *now* [1877], or was not long ago, standing on the lawn of his late residence at Rottingdean (p. 55).

By the time when Major Moore wrote "or was not long ago" Mr. Chantrell had died, and the exact whereabouts of the cross was not generally known. But in a footnote (p. 56), Moore added: "Since the above was written, it has been the author's privilege to recover from Rottingdean this ancient relic . . ." That is to say, he had rediscovered it, and had taken the first steps to obtain it, though the business did not go smoothly. What actually happened, Mr. Ford relates in a letter of Feb. 28, 1914:—

One day Major Moore came to see me in an excited state. He said that Chantrell's widow was dead, and that he felt sure the cross would be found at her house at Rottingdean, and he asked me to go there with him to try to find it. We went together to Brighton and drove over to Rottingdean. Leaving our carriage in a convenient place, we inquired for Mrs. Chantrell's house, and eventually found it, standing in a large garden surrounded by a high wall. I climbed it, and saw a stone pillar standing in a kind of rockery in the middle of a lawn. It was so far away that

I could not see any carving on it. So I descended and gave Moore a leg up, no small achievement, as he was stout and very heavy. When I got him up, he said he recognised the cross, so we made our way to the house, which was apparently shut up, but after much ringing a woman opened the door, and we asked leave to look over the house and grounds. When we found ourselves in the garden, we examined the cross as unostentatiously as possible, and Moore pronounced it to be the real thing. We then took the address and departed. Moore immediately told the Vicar, Dr. Gott, and there, so far as I am concerned, the tale ends.

Canon Simpson continues the story:—

Dr. Gott at once entered into negotiations with the Court [of Chancery], who offered him the cross at the nominal price of £3. But before the Vicar sent to remove it, the property had been sold, apparently without reservation of the cross. The owner, a grocer, refused to allow of its removal, and when interviewed by a solicitor, declared his intention of breaking it up into road stones the same evening if the law were set in motion. (*Leeds Parish Church Magazine.*)

The solicitor was probably Mr. Henry Nelson, who was the senior churchwarden, and solicitor to the Great Northern Railway, because this company carried the stones down from Rottingdean to Leeds free of expense. Dr. Gott would naturally look to him for advice in a matter affecting the Church. (Mr. Ford.)

And so the first attack failed.

Mr. Chantrell seems to have intended to give the cross to Leeds—ultimately—but was too interested in his find to part with it, and died without disposing of it by will or otherwise. Canon Simpson says:—

It had been the wish of Dr. Hook, ever anxious to connect the Church of his own day with the centuries whose traditions it inherited, to preserve these precious stones for the inhabitants of Leeds. But for reasons of his own, the architect insisted upon the terms of his contract, which allowed him to claim all ‘old material,’ and so the cross wandered about from Leeds to London, and from London to Rottingdean. After Mr. Chantrell’s death [or, as Mr. Ford believes, after his widow’s death] his estate passed into Chancery, and although it had been the intention of both

parties to the lawsuit then pending that the cross should be presented to the Vicar of Leeds for preservation in the Parish Church, it was sold . . . along with the property on which it stood. The Court of Chancery had previously sold it to Dr. Gott for the nominal price of three pounds ; but by some oversight the purchaser of Ivy Cottage was allowed to enter upon possession without reservation of the cross. (*Rusby*, p. 17.)

Dr. Gott in person may now take up the tale, in a letter to his successor in the vicarage of Leeds :—

So I went down myself, saw him *incognito* in his shop, and asked him what he would take for the cross. A hundred pounds and not a penny less, he answered, for a rich man in Yorkshire wanted it much. After some haggling I told him he had only one possible purchaser, that no one out of Leeds would give him much for it, and no one in Leeds would compete with me ; and at last he took my £25 across the counter, and I removed it that night. (*Leeds Parish Church Magazine*.)

It is plain, therefore, that Major Moore and Mr. Ford found the cross, after its removal had taken it out of sight of the world for many years. They paved the way for its recovery. But the final conqueror in the struggle was Dr. Gott ; and to all of these, as well as to Mr. Chantrell himself, we owe the preservation of this valued relic. In 1880 it was fixed in its present position in Leeds Parish Church.

But what became of the rest of the stones at Oatlands House, Little London, and of the cartloads taken away by people interested in them through Chantrell's lecture ? Eight fragments in the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical Society, beside the pieces rebuilt as the Parish Church Cross, cannot account for all that were found, though they represent nearly all which were seen by the Rev. D. H. Haigh in 1856.

At York, a great number of ancient carved stones have lately been collected by Mr. W. Harvey Brook from various gardens of the neighbourhood. It used to be the fashion to adorn rockeries with such relics, before the vogue of the true rock-garden came into being ; and no doubt it meant a certain interest in antiquities, and contributed to the preservation of many fragments. Not to go beyond the neighbourhood of Leeds, there are still two vicarage gardens where the local pre-Norman

cross-heads are treated in this manner, or were so treated a year or two ago. In one case they were so overgrown when I went to look for them, that it was not easy to distinguish them from other rockery stones; and thankful as one is to find them not yet broken up or built-in, one is more thankful to Mr. Brook for the enterprise which has resulted in the new mediæval room at York Museum. What has been done there may perhaps be possible at Leeds; at any rate it is difficult to believe that none of the pieces from the church are left in gardens of old houses in the town and suburbs, and that they cannot be found by someone who has the opportunity of access to such places.

With this possibility in view, any account of the fragments must be regarded as provisional; for if missing pieces should turn up, they may prove to be parts of the crosses which it is the business of this paper to discuss, as far as discussion can be carried, on the basis of the existing remains.

THE LEEDS FRAGMENTS.

The list given in 1856 by the late Rev. D. H. Haigh, and quoted in Rusby's "St. Peter's" (pp. 294-5), mentions the following items:—

(1) Fragment with an interlaced pattern on the side and a cross in a circle on the top, which Haigh thought to be the corner of an altar. (Now in the Museum; in the photographs marked "8" with a chalk-mark on the stone.)

(2) Fragment of a small cross with scrolls and plaits. (Now in the Museum; "3" in the photographs.)

(3) Fragments of the heads of two small crosses "of earlier date than the following." (One now in the Museum; "4" in the photographs.)

(4) Fragments of a cross (now in the church).

(5) Fragments of another very similar cross, on one of which is an imperfect inscription:—

CUNL

ONLAF

(The inscribed stone is lost. The other fragments may be those in the Museum, numbered "2," "6," and "7" in the photographs.)

(6) Fragments of another, distinguished from the last by having a cabled border within the frame. (None answering to this description appear to exist.)



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1

2

4

3

5

6

THE LEEDS MUSEUM FRAGMENTS (I).

Photo.—Henry Crouther.

7

8



Thoresby Society.

1A
2A

3A

4A

5A

6A

7A Photo.—Henry Crowther.

8A

THE LEEDS MUSEUM FRAGMENTS (II).



Thoresby Society.

4B

2B

3B

6B

THE LEEDS MUSEUM FRAGMENTS (III).

Photo.—Henry Crowther.

7B



Thoresby Society.

4C

6C

3C

THE LEEDS MUSEUM FRAGMENTS (IV).

Photo.—Henry Crouther.

(7) Fragments of a sixth. (Now in the Museum; "1" and "5" in the photographs.)

These stones have been described and discussed by various writers, of whom some have not made a special study of this class of monuments, and their theories need not be repeated. Two English authors, however, deserve respectful consideration as scholars of high standing and as students of Anglo-Saxon art and history, the Rev. Daniel H. Haigh (1819-1879), in his youth a resident in Leeds, afterwards priest at Erdington; and the Right Rev. George Forrest Browne, D.D., F.S.A., formerly Disney Professor of Archæology at Cambridge, and until lately Bishop of Bristol. Father Haigh's two articles, originally contributed to the Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1856-7 and in 1870, show careful observation and great learning, but betray his usual tendency to attribute monuments to persons named in history, and to fill out his inferences with a too romantic imagination. Bishop Browne's article on the Parish Church Cross, given in Rusby's "St. Peter's," 1896, is revised and enlarged from a paper read before the British Archæological Association, and printed in the Association's *Journal*, 1885, in which he threw fresh light on the meaning of the sculptures. With drawings by the late J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., a great authority on these monuments, his work stands as a most valuable description and exposition. Further discussion of his identification of the winged figure with Weland the Smith has been given by the late Professor Sophus Bugge in *The Sagabook of the Viking Club*, vol. ii, 1901; and the subject is mentioned by Professor Jiriczek in his *Deutsche Heldensage* (which I have not seen), and by Professor Sieper, in his book on *Old English Lyrical Poetry* (forthcoming with K. J. Trübner, Strassburg). The inscribed stone, now lost, has been also treated by Professor George Stephens of Copenhagen, in *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, vol. i, 487, and briefly by Dr. Wilhelm Vietor in *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine* (Marburg, 1895).

No doubt the list could be lengthened; but it is not the object of this paper to collect opinions or to restate the views of authorities. It is intended to illustrate and describe the remains, and to draw such inferences as appear practicable in the present state of knowledge. The gradual collection of particulars about the design and technique of stones of this type,

of which hundreds exist in England, ought to put us into a position to class and compare the art of these relics with some certainty, though much remains to be learnt. But anyone who has followed the study of Roman pottery in recent years knows how much has been discovered by analysis of ornament and workmanship; and in a similar manner the cross-fragments may be expected to give results of interest when they are known in detail and arranged in series. Until this is done, the dating is uncertain; it may be that the opinions of experts are correct; but if so, classification will justify them. Without a fairly assured date, the attempt to explain the symbolism may perhaps lead to misunderstanding, and historical deductions are hardly possible. It is not to be expected that very close dates can be given; but it is not impossible to approximate to a generation or so, taking into consideration all the indications.

These data, for our purpose, do not include attempted identifications of historical persons with those for whom the monuments were erected. They include only the sequence of styles, checked at one point and another by facts of history and comparison with datable work.

For example, stones bearing interlaced patterns of the kind not associated with acanthus, or with the other well-known features of the post-Conquest period, fall mainly into two classes. One of these classes is marked by the dragons and "worm-twists" of the Viking Age, with which are seen certain kinds of plait-work (the ring-twist, the vertebral pattern, etc.), a rude and grotesquely-drawn style of human figure, the wheel-head, and sometimes inscriptions in later or Scandinavian runes, or lettering which bears Danish or Norse names; in this group the cutting is usually shallow and not cleanly chiselled, but hacked or picked, and the workmanship betrays a comparative unskilfulness, as of men to whom masonry was not familiar. The figure-subjects borrowed from Scandinavian story appear only on such stones, and there can surely be no doubt that all this group is later than the Danish invasion.

Opposed to these is a great class of monuments of which the better executed show scrolls of leaves and fruit, obviously borrowed from Roman Empire models. They have plait-work of symmetrical knots, much more elaborate and ingenious than those of the Viking Age, and differing greatly in the style of cutting, being neatly chiselled, with the ground cleared, instead

of slightly sketched. Their figures and animals, though degenerated from classic standards of drawing like all the Roman-Christian art of the post-classic centuries, are not without a reminiscence of motives from good Roman relief sculpture, and in some cases are dignified or graceful. Their inscriptions are in early runes, or in Anglo-Saxon or Roman lettering, and contain names of the pure Anglo-Saxon type, which went out of fashion in Norman times. They have neither the acanthus of the eleventh and twelfth centuries nor the free, asymmetrical "snake-slugs" of the Viking Age; and their style can be equated with a few datable examples of Anglo-Saxon metalwork—leaving aside manuscript illumination, as not always a safe guide in dating. For these the eighth century appears to be the central period, and as this art flourished chiefly under the Anglian monarchy of Northumbria, it may reasonably be called Anglian.

In Yorkshire there does not seem to be much, if anything, in the way of relics of this art which can be dated earlier than about 700 A.D. The stones which bear animals of the kind seen on Northumbrian coins of the middle of the eighth century bear also ornament which is rather more florid, and plaits which are a little more common than those of the severer group which must have preceded them; this gives a second period, subdividing the whole Anglian series. Later on, the usual tendency of all art-work which is not revived by external impulses—the tendency to coarsen and to repeat in an easier and "cheaper" manner—seems to explain work of the third or late Anglian period; and the plaits of this group are usually still less ingenious and more common than before. So that from about 700 to 867, the Danish capture of York, three periods are fairly distinct; and the evidence of the plaits, scrolls, figures, and technique is harmonious on the whole, though here and there we find a craftsman who evidently was more skilful in one department than in another, and his work is less easy to place. But of the general subdivision there can be little doubt.

Then, between the Anglian and the Danish groups, comes a series of highly interesting transition-forms. It is obvious that, after the great invasion, most of the good workmen—formerly attached to the great Anglian monasteries—were no longer available; but as the Danes were, for the most part, rapidly

converted, the demand for monuments soon revived. The Danes were not workers in stone, and any crosses they set up were imitated from the native English style; for it must be remembered that stones in Denmark and Scandinavia bearing interlaced work are later than this period, and it is doubtful whether many Celtic crosses are much earlier. In Scotland there are certainly no grave-stones with interlaced ornament, except some Anglian monuments, which can be safely placed before the beginning of the Viking Age. The result of this imitation of the Anglian crosses and shrine-tombs by inferior workmen for Danish patrons was the simplification of plaits and scrolls to a few stock patterns, the further degeneracy of figures and animals, coarser cutting and cheaper execution—in spite of occasional magnitude and elaboration—and the introduction of new motives along with the survivals of the old. Of these new motives, some are the varied forms of the old, free-armed Anglian cross-head, which became either rudimentary and clumsy, or expanded at the arm-ends into “penannular” shape or into the hammer-head cross; the trellis pattern, apparently borrowed from Italy in the late ninth century; the scroll gradually divested of leaves and fruit and turning to bare spirals and then to zoomorphic forms of “worm-twist”; the plaits made of closed members—an easier way of getting effect, though not so satisfactory as the more intellectual design of continuous and symmetrical interlacing; and the debasement of figure and animal into grotesque shapes, not without vigour, but quite without “drawing,” which may perhaps have been justified by the unnatural saints and beasts of ninth and tenth century Celtic draughtsmanship. So the transition slides into the definitely Viking Age style, which seems to coincide with the rule of the Danes in the tenth century and for a while later, until external influences were felt in Northumbria. But by that time the custom of placing crosses over graves was apparently beginning to die out in Yorkshire, though it survived and took new forms in Scotland, Ireland, Man, and elsewhere.

This short sketch of the art-history of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries is needed to preface the description of the Leeds fragments, and to suggest the reasons for taking them in the following order:—

- (i) An Anglian cross-shaft in two fragments (Haigh's No. 7), attributable to the early ninth century.

- (ii) A head-fragment (one of Haigh's No. 3) of about the same period.
- (iii) A small Anglian shaft (Haigh's No. 2), middle of the ninth century.
- (iv) Stone with a ring-cross and plait (Haigh's No. 1), perhaps part of a shrine-tomb or recumbent monument; late ninth century.
- (v) The Parish Church cross (Haigh's No. 4), beginning of the tenth century.
- (vi) The fragments (Haigh's No. 5 ?), which can be restored as the shaft of a "Weland" cross; middle of the tenth century.
- (vii) The lost fragments with inscription ("King Olaf" ?) in earlier runes (Haigh's No. 5).

I.—ANGLIAN "EVANGELIST" SHAFT.

Two of the fragments at the Museum, numbered 1 and 5 in the photographs by Mr. Crowther, and No. 7 in Haigh's list, appear to be of the same rough gritstone, light yellow in colour, and to have similar cable-edging at the arrises and similar workmanship in the carving. It is likely that they are parts of one shaft, but when one tries to find their exact position in the shaft, and to work out the design of the whole, some difficulties arise. Without such a reconstruction, it cannot be said that the fragments have been properly studied and understood; and yet in offering the accompanying sketch I feel that it must be excused as a provisional attempt, only justified by the fact that it is based on analogies from other Anglian shafts of the same type, and that it nearly accounts for all the forms seen on the fragments.

The stone placed uppermost measures 14 by 9 by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches, but only the carved faces are shown in the drawing. The side *a* bears a hand holding a book, among folds of drapery rather more conventionalised than in the earlier Anglian work. The cable arris of *c*, and perhaps of *a*, is in the style of that on the Madonna shaft at Dewsbury. Inside it is a plain bead, rather broader than that on side *b*, which tallies with *d*, while *c* matches the framing bead of *a*. This suggests that *a* and *c* are parts of the broader side, usually ornamented with figures, while *b* and *d* are on the narrower side, which ordinarily bears plaits and scrolls; but it does not follow that *a* and *c*, *b* and

a



c

W.C. 1914

b



d

LEEDS No. I ($\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$).

d are on the *same* sides respectively. As, however, there are crosses at Ilkley and Otley (and elsewhere) with the saints or evangelists one over the other, it is probable that this shaft was designed on the same model; and as the dragonesque panel suggested by *b* was probably terminated somewhat as shown (on the analogy of such panels at Aberlady, etc.), there is room for a panel of scroll-work below it. This just gives space for an evangelist between *a* and *c*, with his book on the dexter side, as *a* and *c* have books on the sinister side, and the alternation is in the spirit of Anglian art. But the chief difficulty of the restoration is in interpreting the very slight remains of forms on *c*; the book seems to be there, with fingers in drapery, as in the illustration (p. 297) from the St. Gall Penitential, and again on the great cross at Ilkley, and less distinctly seen through drapery at Otley. But the form I have taken as the lower part of the face is a little broad, and a little low down, though the "hunched" attitude is not uncommon in Anglo-Saxon figure-drawing. In *d* the forms at the foot of the fragment might be interpreted as drawn, but this arrangement of leaves to fill a spandril is unusual; the scroll, however, works out into a fine example of the richer Anglian vine. In *b*, the dogs' legs and tails are fairly plain, though it is not easy to fit those of the upper beast to any of the ordinary attitudes, as seen at Melsonby, Ilkley, etc.; and yet variety in design is one of the great characteristics of this art, and I do not see how else to continue the lines. The difference between these Anglian pug-dogs and the Danish dragon is very marked; there is always a grace and playfulness about the former, contrasting with the grotesque savagery of the latter; and here, though the dog-monsters are contorted, they are by no means fierce. The drill seems to have been used in the nostril of the pug's head; the cutting is chiselled and hacked, as far as weathering will allow it to be seen; and this points to a rather late time in the Anglian period, with which all indications agree—the stiff drapery with parallel lines, the florid scroll, and the contorted and interlaced animals.

To get an idea of the original monument, we must imagine a shaft which at its base was at least 16 by 14 inches in section tapering to about 14 by 12 inches at the top. The part which can be inferred as sketched here is about 5½ feet tall; there must have been at least one more panel with an

evangelist, to complete the four, making it certainly over 7 feet high; and perhaps additional sections of other design of which we cannot safely infer anything. The head must have been of the type shown in No. II here, perhaps more massive, and not less than 2 feet high, giving a total height of 9 or 10 feet, and possibly more.

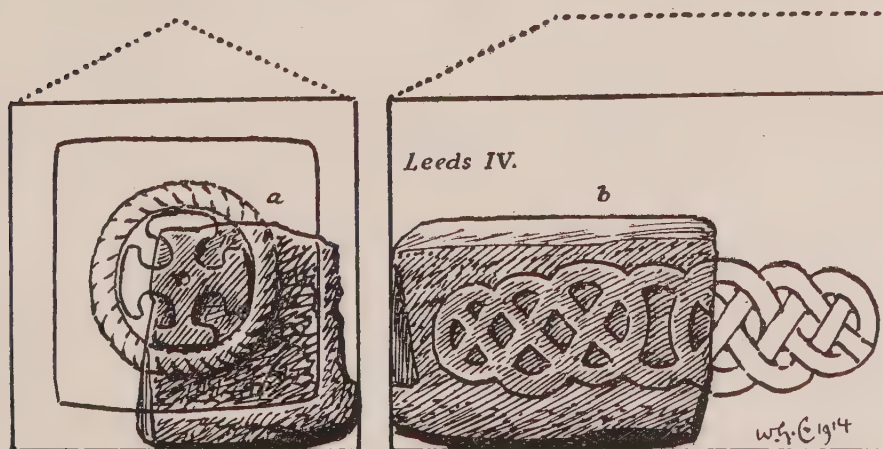
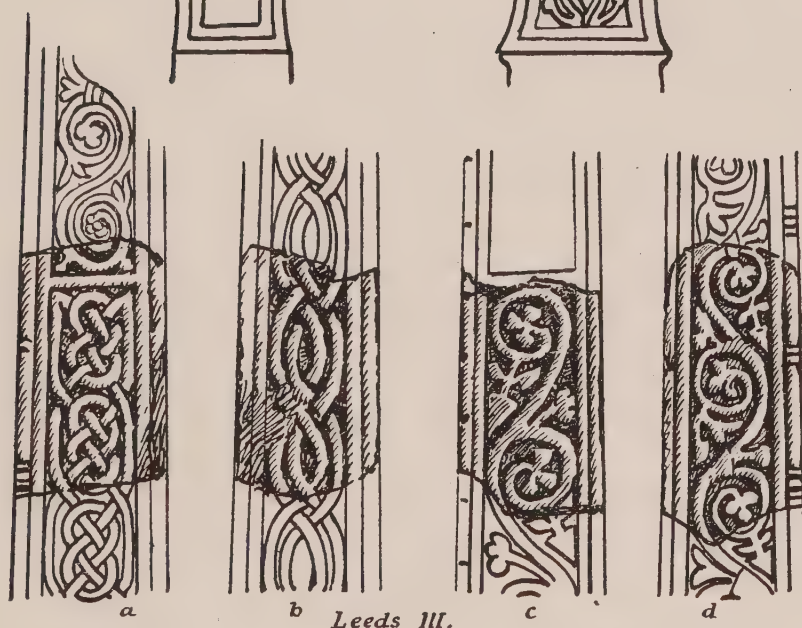
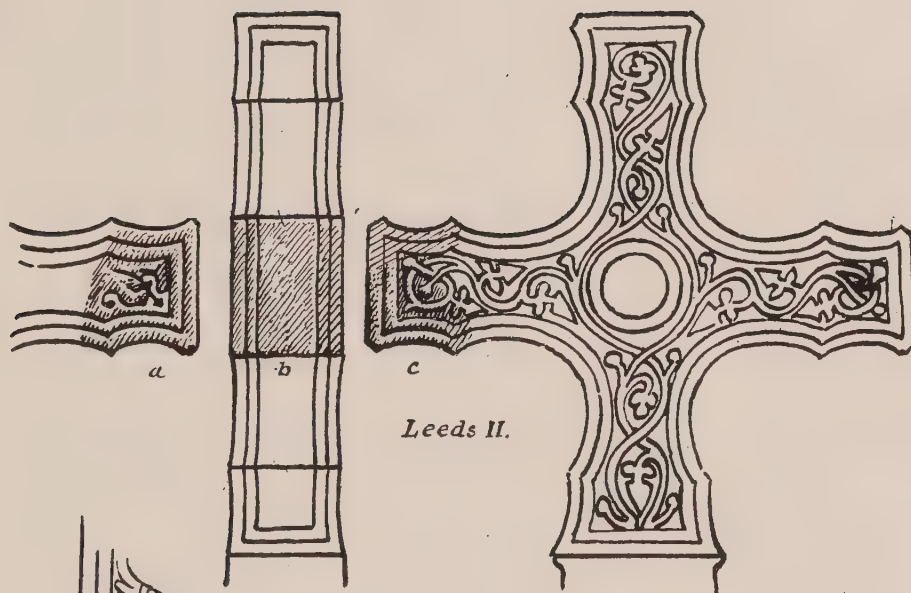
The date of this cross must have been about the beginning of the ninth century; possibly earlier than A.D. 800, but more likely from 800 to 820, or thereabouts.

II.—ANGLIAN CROSS-HEAD.

The little stone at the Museum numbered 4 in the photographs is no doubt one of Haigh's fragments of the heads of two small crosses of earlier date than the church cross. It is the end of a lateral cross-arm, 5 inches thick and $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. That it is a lateral arm is shown by the mouldings which continue *under*, but not *above* it, for the topmost arm would have similar mouldings on both sides. It is probable that a head of this size was on a shaft which would lift it above the level of the eye, and that the mouldings were therefore on the underside of the arm. The size of the head can be inferred from the restoration, which simply fills out the design on the analogy of later Anglian heads which have this "spatuled" type of cross-arm (*e.g.* Lastingham, Masham), and gives a radius of about a foot—a not uncommon size for monuments of neither very large nor very small dimensions.

If this piece were not in red sandstone it would be tempting to join it with the little shaft No. III, but that is of a different material, and is also rather slender for so large a spread of cross-arms, unless it were the very top of the shaft, just under the neck, and this, as will be seen, is not the case. A shaft about $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in section where it joins the head, increasing to greater solidity below, and perhaps 6 or 7 feet high, would be required, and would make, with this head, an extremely elegant and graceful cross.

The remains of pattern on the side *a* I cannot interpret or continue, so as to restore the design; there is a form not unlike key-pattern, but it seems to be connected with curved lines as key-pattern very rarely connects. A late Anglian fragment at Dacre, Cumberland, is the nearest analogy, but does



not quite explain it. The scroll on *c* is fairly plain. The Anglo-Saxon moulding-lines of *b* are characteristic of late (ninth century) Anglian stones, and suggest a date rather later than that of No. I, though the spatuled arms and consequent elegance of the outline make it unlikely that this cross was carved so late as the middle of the ninth century.

III.—SMALL ANGLIAN CROSS-SHAFT, WITH SCROLLS.

The stone at the Museum marked 3 in the photographs and mentioned as No. 2 in Haigh's list is part of the shaft of what must have been a very pretty little cross of late Anglian type. The fragment measures $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and its faces are $6\frac{1}{2}$ tapering to $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and $6\frac{1}{4}$ tapering to 6 inches broad. Two sides bear scrolls with leaves and fruit, and two have plaits. The scrolls are stiff in line, thick in the stem, with leaves standing straight out in one case, at right-angles to the tangent of the curve and very conventional in form in the other; these scrolls are seen in ninth century work at many sites. Of the plaits, one is a figure-of-8 of the kind common in the West Riding (as at Walton Cross, Dewsbury, Gargrave, Ripon buttress, Thornhill) and characteristic of the last period of Anglian; the other is a remarkable pattern of two pairs of strands crossing and interlacing, but not forming a true plait. This last is seen only in a late Anglian stone at North Otterington, and in a cross-shaft at Urswick-in-Furness which has an Anglian inscription but is evidently of the latest Anglian date. The arrises of this little shaft are also unusual; they are neither plain beads nor cabled but of a reel-pattern, having knots or bands at intervals of about half a foot. Above the panel of figure-of-8 plait is part of a panel of scroll-work; mortar still obscures the forms and makes them invisible in the photograph, but they can be seen in the actual stone. The Hackness shaft gives an example of a scroll terminated in this manner at its foot.

The monument, completely restored, would have a free-armed head, perhaps like No. II, or without the spatules at the ends of the arms. A somewhat similar shaft at Dewsbury, with a scroll of this type and period, bore a crucifix on the head, with the legs of the figure running down from the head into the shaft. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the carvers of

these two crosses were of the same school, and they must have worked about the middle of the ninth century, shortly before the Danish invasion.

IV.—LATE ANGLIAN RING-CROSS FRAGMENT.

The stone at the Museum marked 8 in the photographs and No. 1 in Haigh's list is of rough yellow gritstone, measuring $14\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{1}{4}$ by 10 inches. It is much weathered, but apparently has been chiselled and hacked; the plait on one side is very shallow and flat, but the cross in a cabled ring on the other is more deeply cut, with roughly chipped (but not pecked) ground and smoothly-finished surface—evidently to get a contrast. Round the cross and ring is a shallow frame, which, if continued as in the sketch (assuming that there was only one cross and ring, and that the plait was completed as here drawn), requires a stone 2 feet long and 15 to 16 inches square in section. It might, of course, have been longer; but the suggestion made by Haigh, that it was the corner of an altar, involves a very weighty mass of stone. An altar need hardly be 15 to 16 inches thick, as this was. Two other possible explanations occur. One is that this is part of a shrine-tomb or recumbent monument, of the kind from which the hogback was evolved in the early Viking Age; in this case it was probably longer, and the missing part may have included a ridged roof as suggested in dotted lines, and some additional ornament along the side, under the eaves and above the band of plait-work. The other suggestion is that it was an architectural feature in a stone church; this is made less probable by the absence of any indications of such a church at Leeds in the period to which the stone must be assigned. The period is given by the "penannular" form of the cross, by the hacked carving, and the closed members of the plait. Penannular crosses are associated in Yorkshire with the latest forms of Anglian art, passing into Danish in the end of the ninth century. Hacked work, though apparently common throughout that century, becomes more common in the transition period. Closed rings and figures-of-8 in plaits are never seen with ornament which may be dated before the Danish invasion. This stone is therefore of the last quarter of the ninth century, and at that time the unsettled state of the country was by no means

favourable to church-building, though coped tombstones (*e.g.* at Dewsbury) were not impossible, and were the immediate predecessors of the hogback tombstone.

V.—THE CROSS IN THE PARISH CHURCH.

The church cross at Leeds, of which the discovery has already been related, was very admirably put together from the broken fragments by Chantrell the architect and those who set it up where it is now. Some of the stones were missing and some faces have been damaged, so that the photographs here engraved, excellent as they are, need a supplementary drawing by way of explanation. This I have endeavoured to produce from sketches made on several visits. The head is omitted, because it is very doubtful whether it belonged to the shaft; it is rather later in style, though it may have fitted the monument represented by the "Weland" fragments at the Museum, to which we shall come under No. VI. The top stone, here numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, is modern; so is half the stone 13, 14, 15, and part of the lowest stone, 25, 28. In the drawing these faces are left unshaded, as well as part of 9, which is obliterated, and needs restoration (on paper) to make the intention of the design plain to the eye. I have also joined up the lines which are lost in the breaks of the stones and now cemented over, as seen in the photographs. These unshaded parts are not copied from the cross as it stands, but represent what I believe to be rather more probable restorations, where they differ from those actually carved on the new pieces.

We owe to Bishop Browne the observation that the wing-tips, claws, and tail of an eagle can be seen at the top of 5; and I have drawn the bird in 1; for which, if analogy be asked in justification, see Mr. Jaques' stone at Easby (figured in the *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xix, facing p. 315). But I do not see why the eagle should be taken as standing for St. John, without a human figure, when other evangelists are shown in human form. St. John, with his eagle, occurs frequently in MS. illuminations of the Anglo-Saxon Age, though rarely in stone-carving; there is one example at Sherburn (East Riding) which may justify the suggestion that the saint here on 5 and 9 is St. John, with his eagle over his head. I have ventured to fill the defaced part of 9 with folds of drapery, continuing the lines, and a book such as is held by evangelists on several late

Anglian crosses. The figure wears a mitre of the pre-Norman kind, with ribbons passing through the nimbus and curling above the shoulders. He seems to be bearded. His drapery is highly conventional, but the great Ilkley cross shows by what steps such forms were approached, and the series given in the accompanying illustrations makes the transition more evident.

In the Bewcastle "Christ" we have a very noble Anglian type; this is not the place to discuss its date, but I do not think it possible to regard the Bewcastle cross as later than 800 A.D., though, perhaps, not half a century earlier than that year. The "Christ" is a very fair reproduction of a model learnt from Roman-Christian art, and the most artistic in drawing and execution of our earlier Anglian figures; the type from which much of the subsequent figure-drawing was copied. Less graceful, a little clumsier and stiffer, is the Easby "Christ" (on the stone already mentioned as in possession of Mr. Jaques); the figure is still dignified and classic in intention, and the date, so far as it can be judged from the ornament on other sides of the stone—a little florid—must be about the middle of the eighth century. In the ninth century figure-drawing became much more conventional, especially in Celtic hands; for Irish illuminators do not seem ever to have drawn from the life, and the influences from abroad, which gave good lessons to the Anglian craftsmen, touched them hardly at all. Even in Italy the standard of figure-drawing was deteriorating; and it is not surprising to see the Ilkley evangelists—Anglian though they are, and derived from a good tradition—draped very stiffly, though with a certain decorative effect. But this stiffness goes further in the Angels (above a crucifixion) from a St. Gall Penitential (copied from Westwood's *Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*, plate 28), one of the "libri Scottice scripti," books written in the *Irish* fashion, of which a contemporary, Notker of St. Gall, wrote, though these Angels are rather more English than Irish. The true Irish ninth century figure is seen in the St. Matthew and St. Luke from the Gospels of MacDurnan (*op. cit.*, plate 22), so-called because an Irish archbishop of that name is believed to have given the book to King Æthelstan; the book, however, must have been written and illuminated about the middle of the ninth century (*op. cit.*, p. 72). Here we have evangelists in drapery which, copied in stone, would bring us very near the forms of the Leeds cross.



BEWCASTLE.

EASBY.

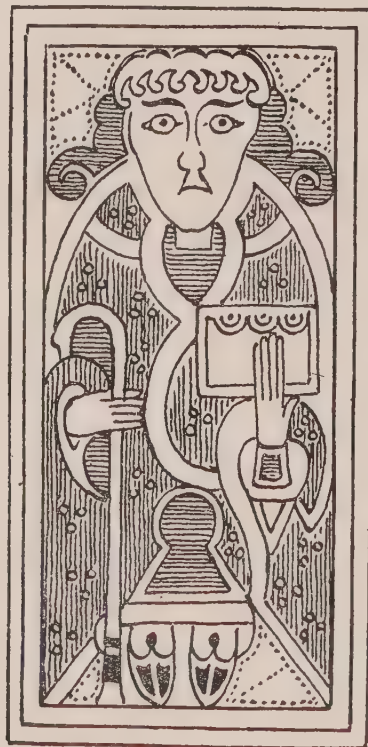
EIGHTH-CENTURY FIGURES OF CHRIST IN BENEDICTION.



Angels with books : from the *St. Gall Penitential* , 9th cent.



St. Matthew



St. Luke

From the *Gospels of MacDurnan*,
(*Lambeth*): about A.D. 850.

NINTH-CENTURY FIGURE-DRAWING.

This is even more evident in the lower figure (13, 17), where the hair or nimbus ends in double curls, and the lower part of the drapery is like that of the MacDurnan St. Luke, only greater in proportion; it seems to represent the skirt, while the folds above are greatly simplified. Out of them comes a hand, holding a little book in such a way that the thumb only is shown; the fingers are hidden behind the book. I have sketched another hand, for symmetry; in some saints of the period one hand holds a pen, while the other holds a book, but I have not dared to go so far. The face, on the side which is not restored, looks to me as though it had a heavy moustache and beard, of which there are examples in MSS.; and I cannot see any kind of animal head on this evangelist, nor do I feel that the curls over the shoulders are enough like horns to make the attributes of St. Luke at all certain. That the figure is meant for one of the evangelists is pretty plain.

Beneath, is the panel interpreted by Bishop Browne as representing the legend of Weland (Völundr) the Smith, of which it will be better to speak later, when this cross and the next have been described. The restored part, in the existing stone, has nothing very characteristic, and I have ventured to sketch the bellows and hammer, as on the shaft at Halton, Lancashire, portraying Regin the Smith. I have also continued the loop above Weland's head to encircle the figure above him, for it could hardly have terminated otherwise, and a fragment of form above her seems to be a bit of this loop. What she holds is difficult to see; perhaps the horn from which, as the story tells, she drank at the smithy, though the ring she brought Weland would have been a more likely accessory. She is, no doubt, not the Swan-maiden, but Beaduhild (Bödvildr), the king's daughter, captured by Weland after he had made himself artificial wings.

The next face is entirely occupied with a scroll. The lower part has single buds at the end of separate twigs, in the volutes; but higher up there are triplets of leaves at the ends of pairs of twigs which cross one another. Both motives are rather unusual; but the comparative bareness of the stems is common in very late or transitional Anglian scrolls. Branch-bindings are seen here, as usual, and in the spandrils are the common twin leaves opening with a bud between them. At the foot is a pair of volutes, of a kind not seen in earlier

Anglian scrolls. But this scroll is pure, though very late Anglian, and quite alien to the art of the Viking Age. Bishop Browne says: "The shaft was of Anglian workmanship, though erected for a Dane, being entirely without the characteristic features which mark the early Scandinavian work"; and it is true that there is nothing definitely Danish about it.

At the same time, the next side shows features of distinctly transitional style in the ring-knot with bifurcated strands on 7 and 11, probably repeated on 3. It is only after the Danish invasion (if the scheme of sequence already described be accepted) that closed rings in plaits and bifurcations in strap-work become possible; the reason obviously being that these motives make the designing of interlaced work very much easier, and all transitional forms tend to simplifying the difficulties of the purer style. Here on 11 we have not only closed members but a double ring-knot; that is to say a very aggressive form of the novelty. It is not the fully developed Scandinavian ring-knot, but probably the "parent" of it. All this points to a late period in the transition age, or a date approaching 900 A.D.

Below is another figure. He has no nimbus, but curly hair. His drapery ends in feather-like folds; but the analogy of Irish drawing (*e.g.* ninth century Gospels at Paris, Westwood, *op. cit.*, plate 21) suggests that no wings may have been meant after all. The figure as drawn by Romilly Allen (Rusby, plates between pp. 80 and 81) has a foot; but I am not sure that a foot was intended, though the proportions of the drawing need not be insisted upon. A seated figure may have been meant. In the hands of this figure Bishop Browne saw "the claws of the leopard," and inferred that St. Mark was intended; he thought that as the evangelists are sometimes denoted by the heads of their respective animals (*e.g.* at Ilkley), so here, while the head is human, the claws replacing hands indicated the evangelist whose symbol was the lion. Without denying the possibility of this interpretation, it may be said that there is no parallel to support it among our crosses; while very poor workmanship—and the cutting of this cross is undeniably weak, though the design is interesting—might easily spoil such a detail as the fingers, and make them look like claws. In the Irish St. Matthew and St. Luke of MacDurnan the fingers are very long and slender; in stone they would become claw-like only too easily.

The left hand seems to be holding something, perhaps a roll such as the Bewcastle "Christ" holds; some of the saints in the Collingham "Apostles" shaft hold rolls. The right hand rests on the left wrist, or it may have been meant to be partly outstretched in a kind of attitude of exposition. In spite of the want of a nimbus, for which there are analogies in crosses and MSS., this figure seems to be one of a set of evangelists; though, as at Otley, it is difficult to say which are intended. One is missing, and he may have been on this side above the ring-knots.

A very interesting question is raised when these figures are compared with those on other Northumbrian crosses. They are much more debased from naturalistic drawing than any of the Anglian series, and yet there is more detail and intention in them than in any of the rude and grotesque little figures on crosses of the Viking Age, until we come to the Nunburnholme shaft, which stands by itself as perhaps the product of Danish art, educated by fresh foreign influence. These Leeds figures give the impression of work done by a craftsman who had a little of the old Anglian tradition left, but very little; and at the same time the ambition to draw figures which would look like those of the current art of book-illustration. Indeed, if they were painted with colours—and I suppose most of these crosses were painted, for we have remnants of colour on some—they would look not unlike the ninth century saints in Irish books. The designer seems to have adapted from a picture of the period, and from an Irish picture. In all the Anglian crosses of the previous generations there is only one of which we can guess that its design was suggested by MS. illustration, and that is the Collingham "Apostles" shaft, which seems to have been hinted, in the variety of its attitudes and draperies, by copying from books. But the Collingham saints are Anglo-Saxon, while these are not English but Irish in character. This means the loss of the old carvers' traditions; the reliance on help in design outside the stock patterns of the workshop and on a kind of design which up to this date was foreign to Northumbrian art.

It is one of the common popular errors to call every kind of interlaced pattern, and especially the art of the crosses, "Celtic." But before this period, and during the whole age of Anglian sculpture, there is no trace whatever of Celtic art in the Northumbrian carvings. The craft was evolved in England,

probably at Hexham, Jarrow, and Monkwearmouth, in the last quarter of the seventh century, after the exodus of Colman and the Irish monks. It was not invented at Lindisfarne, where Celtic traditions lingered longest; for there no very early cross-fragments remain, though some of a late Anglian date, and we know how tardily the Lindisfarne monks accepted the new architecture in stone, introduced by St. Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop. The carving of crosses was based on continental art, and perfected long before any Celtic high crosses existed. The Irish taught letters to the English, but there is no reason to suppose that their early missionaries brought any decorative art with them; on the contrary, it was chiefly from England that the impulses came which created the Celtic styles of interlaced ornament. But when Irish Vikings came into Northumbria they brought tastes and ideas from late ninth century Ireland, where the style had by then developed, and so, at last, a Celtic influence can be seen in England.

This Leeds cross, though mainly Anglian in motives, is therefore the first of which it can be said that some Celtic elements can be traced in the design. The interesting question is the date at which this design from Celtic sources was most probable; and the most obvious reply is to name the period when Vikings from Ireland first came into Yorkshire. The general conversion of the Danes in Ireland did not take place before 948 (*Ann. Inisf.*, quoted by Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, iii, 125), but there were Christians among them earlier. In 919 Ragnvald O'Ivar became King of York, after a youth of adventure in Ireland; he seems to have been the first definite link between Ireland and Yorkshire, and from his time until the expulsion of the Irish Vikings in 954 the intercourse between York and Dublin was frequent. But as we shall see later, it is not certain that Leeds was much under the influence of York at this period, while there was a growing influx of Norse settlers, originally arriving from the Celtic countries on the shores of the Irish Sea, who came in from the West and through Craven. To some of these, rather than to the people of the Danish kings of York, the introduction of Irish art may be traced, and the Viking Age monuments of North Lancashire and Cumberland lend support to this suggestion. In a word, figures of Irish aspect at Leeds need not be taken to prove a date between 919 and 954, but might be a little earlier.

Underneath the last evangelist, and on stones 19 and 23, is a design of knot-work, almost certainly imitated from knots at Collingham and Ilkley. Its want of true sequence in overlapping shows that it is very late, though its symmetrical form is Anglian. On the next side are several patterns of interest. The scroll of 4, 8, 12 is a debased but still fairly regular Anglian scroll, which might be of any date of the transition period. Below that, on 12 and 16, is a very clumsy and irregular plait, ending above and below in a *triquetra*; this is not possible until late in the transition. Further down (20 and 24) is a braid pattern, which occurs also at High Hawsker and Kirklevington on crosses of the Viking Age (tenth century), but nowhere in Celtic work. The instances given by Romilly Allen on Scottish crosses of a much later date at Papil, Meigle, and Iona, are not continuous pieces of pattern, like this, but mere fragments of loops in a tangled design, and they do not count as true analogies. But the braid does occur abroad, in carvings found in the Forum at Rome and at St. Abbondio, Como, which have been assigned to the ninth century. It seems likely that this pattern was introduced by some traveller who had seen it on his journeys, perhaps in Italy. It may not have been brought fresh and direct to Leeds for use on this cross, but here we find the earliest example, which cannot be earlier than late in the ninth century. The little piece of irregular plait at the foot of the shaft, 28, with a pair of volutes terminating it, has a tenth century appearance.

We now have some data towards fixing the period. The scrolls are Anglian of the latest kind before they pass into the leafless spirals of the tenth century; they are the earlier element in the design, and having some remains of native tradition. The knot-work of 19 and 23 pushes the date a little later. The irregular plaits have a still later aspect; but the ring-knot, not yet the usual ring-knot of Anglo-Danish and Scandinavian art, brings us back a little, to the border line between the transition and the Viking Age style. The balance seems to turn at rather after 900 than before it. The figures retain very little of Anglian art, while they suggest Celtic influence, which is unlikely, though not entirely impossible, before the beginning of the tenth century. In this attempt at dating no account is taken of the supposed identifications of the person who might be buried here and commemorated by this monument, for the

answers given to that question are speculative and will be discussed later. The date of the cross ought to be settled on archæological grounds, and by comparison with all the known works of similar art; when its place in the series is found it will be time to look for historical reasons for its erection, if such reasons shall ever be forthcoming from the very slender accounts of the period which are all we possess.

One figure remains to be described—that on 23 and 27. This is a small and stumpy man, in a long robe and cloak, holding a short sword in his right hand. His head is disproportionately big; perhaps he wore a moustache and short beard, but the face is destroyed. On his head is—not a nimbus—but a helmet, expressed in the rudest way, but like the helmet, for example, on the seated warrior at Nunburnholme. A bird sits on his left shoulder; Bishop Browne calls attention to the resemblance of this bird to the hawk on the fist of the lowest figure in the Bewcastle cross, and it is certainly a hawk or eagle. Under the right hand is the remnant of a knot, which I have continued and completed by adding the two upper loops which seem necessary to its form.

This figure was taken by Bishop Browne to represent Sigurd the Völsung, holding his famous sword above the dragon he has slain (represented by the knot), and listening to the bird which tells him of the treason of Regin the Smith. The Bishop considered that “it is idle to attempt to say that the knot is mere ornament”; but that in the broken part, which I have restored as a pair of loops, there was the snake’s head, as in a knotted snake on the well-known Gök stone, which certainly represents Fafnir the dragon, and in a similar knotted snake on a bone ring in the Guildhall library. Connecting this cross with the stone inscribed “King Olaf,” he thought that it was set up to King Olaf Godfreyson, a great-grandson of Ragnar Lodbrok, and the daughter of Sigurd, so that Olaf claimed descent from that hero, and it would be likely that such a figure should be carved on his tombstone. Further, and to explain the Weland on the other side, he remarked that the adviser of Sigurd was Reginn, and he is “only Völund over again, at a different era”; quoting the late Eiríkur Magnússon, who considered the theory not unreasonable.

It is true that the Halton cross represents Sigurd and Regin, and the subject was not impossible in the eleventh century in

England. It was possible in Sweden at that date, where it appears on the Ramsund and Gök stones, and in Norway in the twelfth century, where it is carved in wood on several church doors. Mr. Kermode has also found Sigurd on crosses of the eleventh and twelfth centuries at Jurby, Andreas, Ramsey, and Malew (Isle of Man), and drawn and described the stones in his *Manx Crosses*, pp. 170 *seqq.* But this Leeds cross is a century earlier than any of the other Sigurd carvings, and it is difficult to say in what form the story was known here at the time. More than one bird are usually given as talking about the treason of Regin; their *conversation* is part of the legend. It was the act of tasting the blood from the roasted heart of the dragon that gave Sigurd the power of hearing the birds' language; and this is shown both at Halton and on the Scandinavian carvings, but not here. The filling-up of a panel with a piece of knotwork, merely ornamental, is not at all without parallel; for instance, the cross-head with peacocks in the crypt at Ripon, contemporary with this cross, and the somewhat later stone once at Slaidburn but now lost, though fortunately preserved in the photograph by Mr. R. H. Tiddeman, F.G.S., of Oxford, here reproduced. I do not feel convinced that there must have been a serpent's head to this knot, which is otherwise interesting as the earliest hint of the "vertebral" pattern, afterwards used commonly in Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian design as an easy running border. Finally I would urge that the parallel between Regin and Weland, obvious as it is to the comparative mythologist of modern times, is the kind of idea which could not possibly have been accepted in the tenth century, when the legends were regarded as history, and Weland was Weland—no other person. In a word, I venture to think that there are difficulties in the way of interpreting the figure as Sigurd, quite apart from the question of the attribution of the cross to King Olaf Guthferthsson, whose claims to the monument are very doubtful. This king died somewhere in the north of Northumberland, about 941-2, and the stone with the inscription, now lost, can hardly be regarded as belonging to this cross. But this must be discussed later; I only indicate the reasons against an identification which has much to commend it, but more, I think, to throw doubt upon it.

As an alternative, I suggest that the figure was meant for a portrait of the person commemorated by the cross. It has



Thoresby Society.

THE SLAIDBURN FRAGMENT.

Photo.—R. H. Tiddeman.

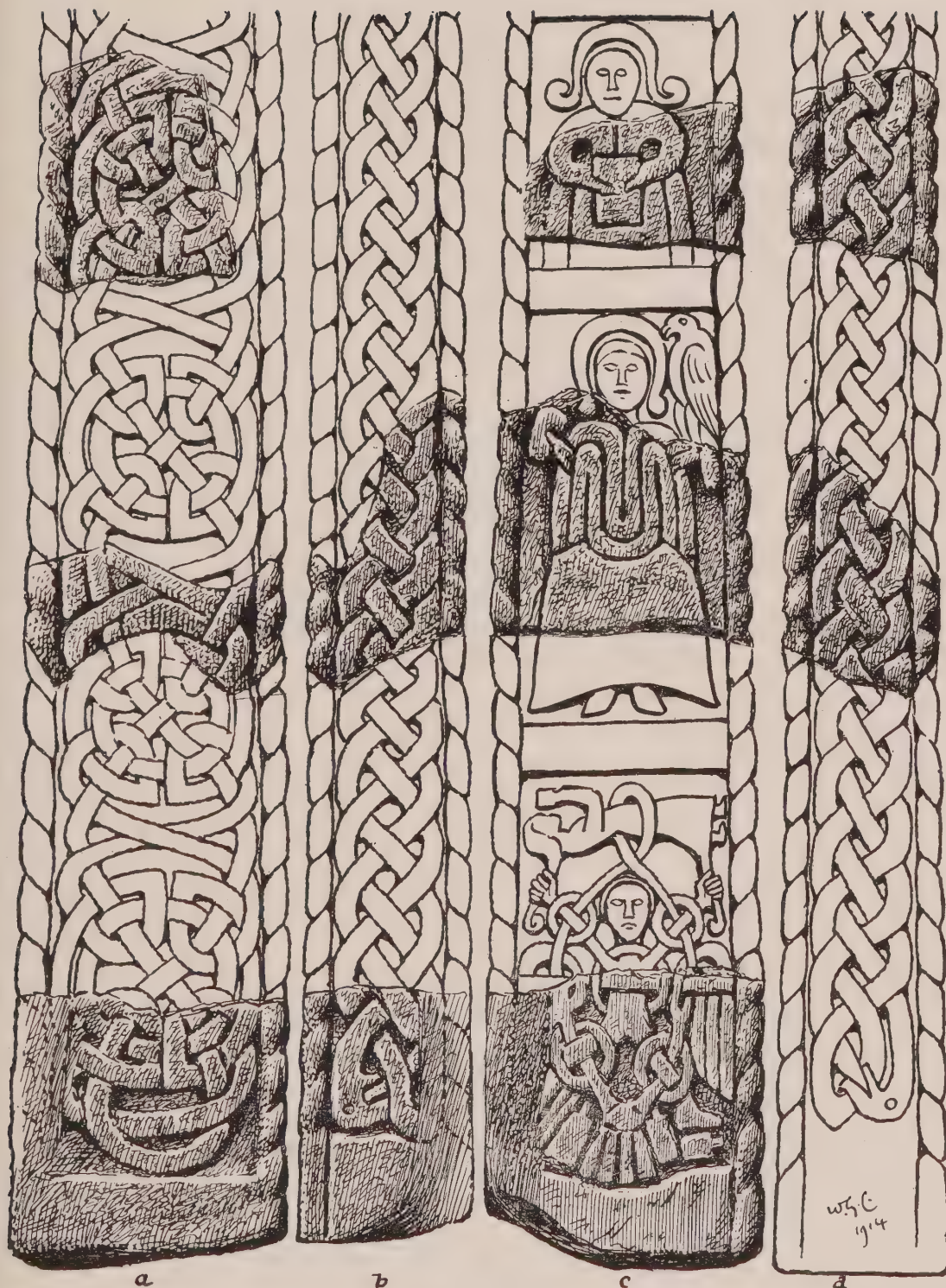
been said by writers of influence that portraits were never carved upon such monuments ; but the statement ought to be reconsidered in view of examples hard to understand as ecclesiastical or legendary. The seated warrior on the Nunburnholme shaft has no attributes of a saint, and no suggestion of a story ; he seems to be simply the "jarl" of Nunburnholme in the eleventh century (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xxi, 266). Two costumed figures on the stone from St. Mary Bishophill Junior, in York Museum (*ibid.*, xx, 177), are very portrait-like ; so is the armed man on the "warrior" stone at Otley. At Gosforth, Cumberland, on a hogback is a scene with armed figures apparently representing the meeting of two armies headed by their leaders. At Kirklevington, on a stone of the Viking period, is a man in helmet and kirtle, fully dressed in tenth century costume, with a bird on each shoulder—as this person at Leeds has a bird on one shoulder ; the Kirklevington figure (*see* *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xix, 352) has no appearance of symbolism, but much of portraiture, though to modern eyes grotesque. At Bewcastle, the lowest panel shows a man holding a falcon on his left hand ; the right hand holds a staff ; the face is bearded and the figure fully clothed. Professor Albert S. Cook (*The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*, 69, 70), though giving a much later date than I think possible, argues for the view already expressed by me (*Vict. Hist. Cumberland*, i), that it is a portrait of some great personage. And going farther back, Roman and early Christian sarcophagi, from which this school of monumental carving sprang, habitually show portraits of the persons for whom they were made. In this Leeds figure we have a nobleman in full costume, with helmet and sword, and his hawk on his shoulder ; if he is even more rudely sketched than the saints on the cross it is because there was no picture to copy from, and the art of figure-drawing was at a very low ebb. The bit of knot-work I take to be inserted because the taste of the age "abhorred a vacuum" and the blank space required filling. To look for symbolism and meaning in all the accessory ornament of late crosses is pushing the search too far. No doubt all ornament, in its ultimate origin, conveyed some "hieroglyphic" language, but by the tenth century very little of that picture-writing was left. For example, the *triquetra* is often said to represent the Trinity ; but on this face of the Leeds cross, and in many crosses more distinctly, we find two

triquetrae together, which strictly interpreted ought to argue a belief in two Trinities. In all late work there is the same tendency to lose the full sense of the motives of decoration; to require consistent importance of detail is to be in the position of the Inquisitors of Venice who asked of Paolo Veronese the meaning of the apes and buffoons in his great picture of the marriage at Cana—to whom he replied that they were put in “merely for ornament.” Now to the series of interlaced crosses this Leeds cross is late, as Veronese was late in the history of mediæval Christian art; and too much must not be demanded of it in the way of symbolism.

The head now on the church cross is a wheel-head of about 18 inches diameter, the two sides ornamented with a very plain strap forming *triquetrae* on each limb of the cross. The upper part is ancient; the lower is a restoration. This type is very common with crosses of the Viking Age, apparently coming into fashion in the tenth century but not earlier; and not matching the late Anglian character of the shaft, which would be better fitted with a free-armed head. This cross-head, however, might fit the second Weland shaft, now to be described.

VI.—THE SECOND “WELAND” SHAFT.

A remarkable monument is represented by three stones at the Museum (“2,” “6,” and “7” in the photographs, and perhaps the fragments mentioned by Haigh as No. 5, excluding the inscribed piece), which may be fitted together somewhat as in the drawing submitted as a tentative restoration. One stone, which I have placed in the middle, has four sides with remnants of carving, and it gives the key to the arrangement by showing that the face *a* bore one continuous pattern; therefore the figure-subjects are all on the same side *c*. The ring-twist on *a* I have not drawn quite accurately in its laying out, as geometrical drawing; but there is no such thing as strict accuracy in patterns of this age, which seem to have been sketched on the stone, freehand (in chalk?), without much or anything in the way of measurement. This might give a trifle more or less space between the figure-panels; but the restored portion of the shaft would measure roughly about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and 14 by 9 inches at the foot, tapering to 12 by 7 inches above. There was no doubt a good deal more. If the two upper figures are evangelists, two more panels are required of about 15 inches



LEEDS No. VI.

each, making the shaft at least 8 feet high. To this add a wheel-head; if the head now on the church cross, it gives about 18 inches; and we get a monument standing fully $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet from its base.

The ring-plait of *a* is of the class represented by a number of late works. A pattern rather similar in effect, but without the ring, is at Rothley, Leicestershire (No. 706 in Mr. Romilly Allen's analysis of interlaced ornament, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*); another is that incised on one face of a stone at Ilkley (cast in Leeds Museum; Romilly Allen's No. 711). At Ilam, Staffordshire, is a double-ring pattern (Romilly Allen, 720), but formed of a sequence of true Scandinavian ring-knots. A nearer analogy, with a single ring, is seen on Scottish and Irish crosses, certainly not earlier than this (Romilly Allen, 696, 697). This pattern seems to be unique; but the ring shows it to be tenth century, though a Viking Age carver in a Danish district would probably have used the common ring-knot. The four-strand plait, ending in a snake-head on *b*, and perhaps repeated in the same form on *d*, is possible in the late transition period and through the Viking Age. All these plaits are roughly chipped, not carefully carved with the chisel; and in some places, as on the middle stone of *a*, the ground has not been cleared out. The strands are flat, not rounded as in Anglian interlacing, and the cable arris is coarsely treated. The evidence of workmanship and design in the ornament suggests some date well on in the tenth century, but hardly past 950.

At the top of *c* I have added a head to a figure with a book; this figure is rudely cut, with incised lines hacked out, and no surface-modelling. The ground is cleared to a shallow depth. The thumbs of the hands appear in front of the book; the fingers are hidden, as in 13 of the church cross. The round shoulders are seen on the Otley "warrior," the "Bound devil" of Kirkby Stephen, and in other fragments of the tenth century throughout Yorkshire; there must have been some archetype from which these round-shouldered figures were copied, and light is thrown on the series by the Slaidburn stone, figured above. This curious and grotesque angel has the round armpit of the Leeds figure, and also wears the Celtic shoes, seen on a slab at St. Vigean's (*Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, 268), suggesting that the type came into Yorkshire with Vikings from Scotland or Ireland.

The panel below, without additions in the way of restoration, seems hardly decipherable; see the photographs, stone marked "6." But out of the M-shaped folds, which represent drapery cast as in the figure of the Bewcastle "Christ," comes a hand holding a little book, with the thumb only showing, exactly as in the figure on the church cross (13), and the blank form below the folds is explained also by that figure as the skirt of the drapery. In this case its breadth suggests that the figure is meant to be seated, for a completely identical copy is never seen on these crosses; the design is always varied from precedent. On the left shoulder are incisions crossing the fold of drapery, and a form stands out on the background near them, not narrow enough to be the pen in a hand matching the hand which holds the book. But comparing this with the figure on 23, 27, of the church cross, it seems to mean part of a bird sitting on the shoulder. A knob over the right shoulder gives the lower part of a nimbus or the curl of hair; and so we get fair indications of a St. John with his book and eagle. It is interesting to note that the design is apparently suggested by the church cross. There can be no doubt that this No. VI is later, because the design and workmanship are both of a type frequently seen in monuments of the Viking Age, and the tendency of the later work was towards less and less invention. It was unusual earlier to repeat a pattern on two sides of a shaft, as here on *b* and *d*. Consequently, this cross is a later work, suggested by the church cross, and showing once more how the artists of the day went on developing patterns, while for figures they leant upon previous work.

The lowest panel is of very great interest, for here we find the Weland of the church cross repeated, with a few variations. All the upper part of this panel is lost, but it must be fairly safe to restore it as here, on the analogy of the other Weland; I have only omitted the object held in the girl's hand, as being uncertain. The tail of the flying man's equipment is more developed, with feathers instead of a kind of "parson's nose." On each side of it are forms which may be the bellows, not oval as on the Halton shaft, which is imitated in the restoration of it in the church cross, but oblong, as indeed may have been the bellows of the period. Under the left foot is a clumsy mallet; between the right leg and bellows are the handles of a long pair of tongs, of which the rest is lost by a break in

the stone. But this figure gives more clearly than that in the church the attachment of the wings to the body, and between the two we can make out the general idea of this curious tenth century decorative illustration of a legend which we must now try to examine.

WELAND.

The scene intended to be represented on the church cross was interpreted nearly thirty years ago by Bishop Browne (*Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xli, 138-9) as Weland (in Old Norse, Völundr) the Smith, wearing the artificial wings on which he flew away after being lamed and imprisoned by the tyrant King Nidhad (Nidudr), and in the act of seizing the swan-maiden whom the story gives him to wife. The late Professor Sophus Bugge, a great authority on Scandinavian lore, agreed with the identification of Weland (*Sagabook of the Viking Club*, ii, 282; 1901), but thought that the girl was Beadohild (Böd-vildr), according to another incident in the legend.

That legend, in its first *complete* form, is given in the poem of the Elder Edda called "Völundarkvida," which is believed to date from about A.D. 900. It is, at any rate, one of the oldest of the Edda poems, probably the oldest of the whole series, for it has none of the "kennings" or stock metaphors which came into use during the tenth and eleventh centuries in Skaldic verse, its metre and diction are archaic, and its sentiment and subject-matter primitive—too primitive, indeed, for modern taste. Many wild legends of ancient days are well known through popular versions by modern poets, but I do not know that anyone has attempted to give acceptable clothing to the coarse nakedness of the barbaric plot, which may be told briefly as follows:—

"There were three brothers, sons of the king of the Finns, named Slagfinn, Egil, and Völund, who built themselves a house by a lake in Ulfdal (Wolfdale). There they lived by hunting the deer which they followed on *ski*. One morning early they found three maidens spinning by the lake shore; these were Valkyries, royal warrior-maids, who could change themselves to swans, and they had flown north from their homes in Val-land (France). So each brother took one of them to wife, and lived happily for eight years; but in the ninth the swan-maidens flew away. Egil went forth eastwards to search for his Olrún; Slagfinn went south to look for Swanwhite; but

Völund stayed at home waiting for Hervör to come back. And while he waited he forged golden rings and hunted for his meat.

"Now Nidud, King of Sweden, heard of him and his gold, and came upon him when he was weary with ski-running and asleep upon his bearskin by the fire. He bound Völund and carried him away to an island where he kept him in prison, and by the queen's advice set him to the task of making all manner of jeweller's work; and that the craftsman might not escape, he cut the sinews between Völund's knees and thighs (hamstrung him) and left him helplessly lamed. Völund's sword he wore himself, and gave his daughter Bödvild the ring that had been forged for the wandering Hervör.

"One day the king's two young sons came to see the smith and his treasures. He promised them if they would come alone to give them gifts of gold. But when he got them into his power he cut off their heads; he hid their bodies in the mud under his smithy and made their skulls into silver-mounted goblets for Nidud, their eyes into jewels for the queen, and their teeth into a necklace for Bödvild. But still his revenge was not complete.

"Bödvild broke her ring and dared not tell her parents. She brought it to Völund to mend; he promised to make it as good as new. 'He bare to her beer, so that she slept on the seat,' and she too fell into his power. With the death of the sons and the shame of the daughter, the craftsman was content, and flew away, mocking the king and queen as he hovered in the air."

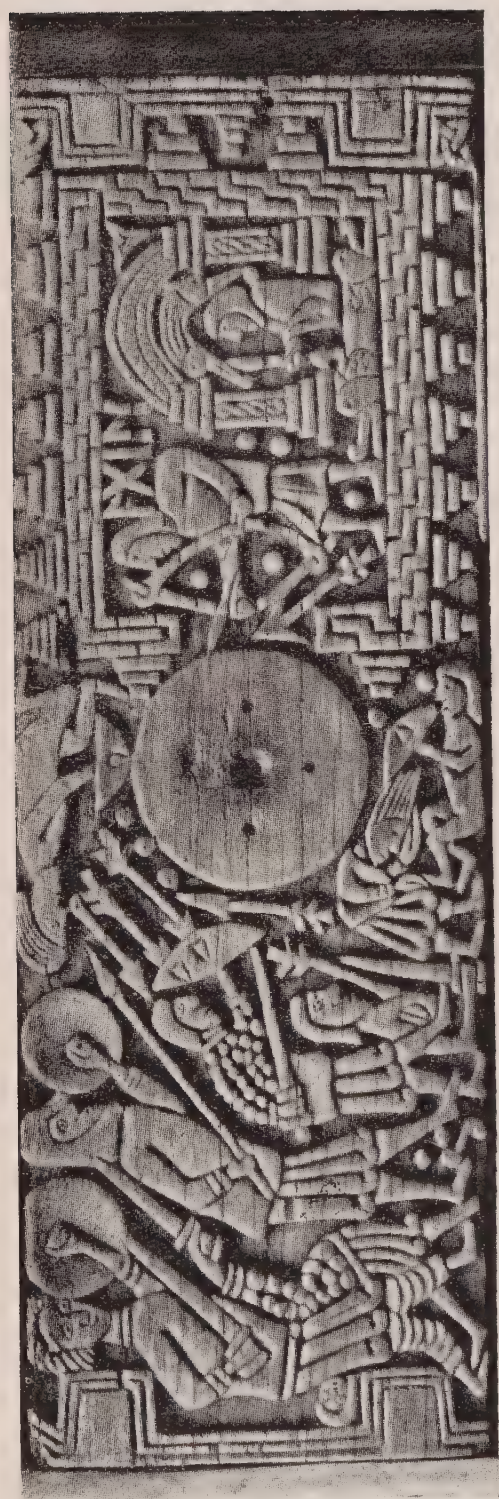
There is just one touch of humanity in the savagery of the tale, that the smith makes the king swear by all that is holy—"by the ship's bulwark and the shield's rim, by the steed's shoulder and the sword's edge"—that he would do no harm to his "bride" Bödvild, after the truth was known. According to the fragment of an eighth century Anglo-Saxon poem of *Waldere*, the son of Weland and Nidhad's daughter was Widia, the champion who bore the sword Mimming, Weland's work, and the deliverer of Theodric (*King Waldere's Lay*, ed. George Stephens, 1860, pp. 46, 54).

Several Anglo-Saxon notices of Weland are older than the Norse poem. In *Beowulf* the hero's mail-coat was "Weland's work." King Alfred, in translating Boethius, wrote "the bones of the wise goldsmith Weland" for *fidelis ossa Fabricii*.

In the Exeter Book is a poem much earlier than the eleventh century MS., "Déor's Lament," which tells how Weland endured the bitterest hardships, imprisoned by Nidhad in a pit of snakes, and yet—as the refrain concludes—"He overcame that, so may I (overcome) this."

In a charter attributed to 903 a place in Buckinghamshire is named *Welandes Stocc*, which has been explained with needless fancy as either the "stock" of his anvil (comparing the name "Weland's Smithy," mentioned in a charter of 955, for the Berkshire cromlech) or the boat which he hollowed out of the "stock" of a tree (as told in the thirteenth century story about him in Theodric's or Wilkina saga); this is the suggestion of Professor Sophus Bugge (*op. cit.*, 280). The Norse poem, though the first complete form of the legend, is by no means the earliest notice of it; indeed Professor Bugge shows by a detailed analysis what Grundtvig and Stephens had previously suggested, that it is based on an Anglo-Saxon poem, and that the story was learnt by the Norse in England. Where the story originated, or how it came to England, is a question which hardly concerns us now; but it is evidently not an importation of the Danes or Norse, and it is not very likely that the Edda poem was known in Leeds when these crosses were made, if that poem was Norse and only dating from about 900. It is much more likely that the older Anglo-Saxon poem was in the mind of the designer. What the exact form of the legend was we have therefore still to seek.

One point may be dismissed—the snake-pit of "Déor's Lament"—for this is common form in legends of suffering heroes. As, however, snake-pits are not common objects, I am inclined to ask whether it is not likely that the motive was derived from such a pictorial representation as we have on these crosses. The twisted and knotted straps suggested the snakes, perhaps, in this and other reliefs and paintings of Christian and heathen subjects. The Yggdrasil of the Edda may have been inspired by the animal and bird-scrolls of the crosses, and other Scandinavian ideas seem to have come from the art-works seen in England by the newly-come and untaught though not unintelligent Vikings; and in this way, possibly, the very crosses we are considering may have contributed to literature and legend. But this is perhaps too speculative; we have better evidence to bring forward.



There is no need to retell the story of the discovery of the Franks casket, now in the British Museum, or to describe it fully. On the lid is the figure of an archer defending the gate of the enclosure or garth round his house, and his name is written in runes above him—ÆGILI—showing that he is meant for Weland's brother Egil. Of Egil as a famous archer the same story is told as of William of Cloudesley and William Tell, that he shot an apple from his little son's head. Theodric's saga also says that he brought Weland the feathers of which the artificial wings were made. On one side of the casket, the side which is half-filled with the picture of the Magi (also inscribed with their name, MÆGI) to the Virgin and child, there is a group of figures which, though unexplained in writing, cannot mean anything but the story of Weland. On the left-hand he is sitting—not standing, for he has been lamed—at his forge; under it is the naked and headless body of one of Nidhad's sons, and with one hand he holds the head in his pincers to make the skull-goblet. With his other hand he is taking something from a woman, or giving her something; it is not the ring which Beadohild brought him. Behind this woman stands another, who has been thought to be Beadohild's maid, with the bag in which her jewels are to be carried away; but Beadohild came alone. As the character of such carved pictures—derived originally from the relief-sculpture of the Roman empire and still keeping its continuity of subject—is to give several scenes in one frame, there are perhaps two scenes here, as well as a third scene, in which a figure seizes two swans by the necks. This is explained by Professor Bugge as Egil catching the birds whose feathers made wings for Weland.

Now this set of illustrations is certainly of earlier date than the Norse poem. It is generally said that the inscriptions on the Franks casket—in Northumbrian dialect and in Anglian runes surrounding the panels—must, from philological reasons, be of the early part of the eighth century. But the ornament of cable-twist and step-pattern, the tendency to spirals at the birds' shoulders, and the drawing of the figures (especially the Madonna) are ninth century, according to the evidences which I gather from our series of crosses. At all events, the casket was made in Northumbria before the Danish invasion, and gives a version of the Weland story earlier than the Edda poem. It also shows that a popular legend of a character which, in its

Norse form, we should think hardly edifying, could be represented side by side with a sacred subject, and pass current among the pious and cultivated Angles at an age when York was the greatest school with the finest library of Western Europe, and Northumbria was one of the leading states. The savagery of the Norse poem was perhaps not present in the Anglian form of the story, and Weland was certainly no villain in the mind of the day.

Beside these two designs at Leeds, and the other instances already mentioned, there are a few allusions to the story in early art which may be noticed, though they are all rather vague. At Neston (Cheshire) is a cross-shaft of late tenth or early eleventh century date, bearing a man reaching up to a winged (female?) figure over his head; but this man seems to be in ecclesiastical costume, and may be meant for a priest in the ancient attitude of prayer, or holding up a chalice or book, with an angel flying overhead—not Weland and the swan-maiden. At Gilling West (North Riding) on a cross-shaft of the same date is a curious motive of pattern which looks like a reminiscence of the wings at Leeds; but there is no human figure.

The man catching swans is a very old motive, considered separately. Romilly Allen (*Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, 307–8) noted similar scenes in ancient Egyptian, Mycenaean, and Rhodian work; also on an initial in the Book of Kells. But the cross at Rossie Priory, figured by him, bears this group; it can hardly have been influenced by ancient Eastern art, and as it is considerably later than the Leeds crosses, it may perhaps show a survival of the Egil on the casket—just as we find curious devices on late Scottish crosses of a head between two monsters, and can trace them back to the old stock scene of Daniel in the lion's den.

Another group, occurring at Meigle and Monifieth (*op. cit.*, 330, 230), shows a man sitting in fetters with a swan standing over him—perhaps caressing him. It would be absurd to suggest Leda or Prometheus, but it might be a variant of Weland and his swan-wife Hervör.

Egil the Archer may possibly account for the figures, otherwise unexplained, of archers on crosses at St. Andrew's, Auckland (late seventh or early eighth century), Ruthwell (eighth century?), Sheffield and Halton, Lancaster (early ninth century).

At Hexham is the figure of a child in leaf-scrolls, carved on a fragment which has been cleverly restored by Professor Lethaby (*Archæological Journal*, 1913, lxx, 157), though I do not feel certain that this child is holding a bow, as the restoration shows him. If this were an example of the archer, we should probably have reached the earliest form of the Egil of English art, and as the relief is derived from Roman sculpture we should know whereabouts to look for its origin. But that we have four archers on crosses of the eighth and ninth centuries, if not a little earlier, suggests a definite meaning for the motive; and taken with the Franks casket they argue a general vogue of the legend throughout Anglian Northumbria. Archers on Scottish crosses (Shandwick, Glenferness, St. Vigean, and Meigle) may be left out of count, because they are much later and only parts of hunting scenes which became popular as decorative ornament in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

We cannot but ask the meaning of Weland's appearance on a Christian grave-cross, even if some of the coarser parts of the tale are assumed to have been absent, or less prominent, in the earlier form of the legend. Part of the answer may be found in the fact that Weland was a type of the artist in general, and therefore a favourite with designers and poets. In Icelandic, both ancient and modern, his name is equivalent to Master-craftsman, a "Daedalus"; and it has been thought that the whole story is only the northern form of Daedalus and Icarus; a labyrinth in Old Norse and Icelandic is a "Völundarhús." Part of the answer may be given by the refrain of Déor's Lament—"He overcame his trials, so may I overcome mine"; a not unfitting sentiment for the grave-stone. How the artist triumphed over all disabilities, how "Kunst macht Gunst," how one rose from lameness, prison, and drudgery, "on wings as a dove," was a theme worthy of finer treatment than the poor carver of the time could give; and his struggles for expression are sure to have meant much more to him than the alien and indifferent spectator finds in his work.

But still the question remains—Why was this particular motive chosen at this special place, and repeated on the second cross?

In the somewhat parallel instances of Sigurd monuments, it was thought by Professor Carl Säve, the discoverer of the Ramsund rock-carving, that the Sigurd and Holmger of the

inscription claimed descent from Sigurd the dragon-slayer; at any rate, a Sigurd was carved over a Sigurd's grave. The late Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., tried to find a similar reason for the Halton Sigurd; the manor was held by Tosti, and though old chronicles placed Tosti's burial in Norway or at York, Mr. Calverley conjectured that he was buried at Halton, with the Sigurd over his grave to show his descent through the mother from Sigurd's daughter, Aslaug (*Early Sculptured Crosses of Carlisle*, 192-6); but this is very doubtful. The Manx Sigurd stones are of the end of the eleventh or the first half of the twelfth century (Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, 180), and the kings of Man, Godred Sigtryggsson and Godred Crovan, who succeeded him in 1080, both claimed descent from Sigurd the Völsung.

If we knew more of the details of Yorkshire history in the tenth century we might perhaps find that some person of importance claimed descent from Weland, or bore that name. There was a famous Viking, Weland, who attacked Winchester, 860, and was killed in a *holmgang* in France, 863 (Munch, *Norske Folks Historie*, i, 433-4; Keary, *Vikings in Western Christendom*, 312-3, and other histories); but this could not be our man, though his name shows that people of the age were called Weland. Indeed, Mr. William Brown, F.S.A., has told me of a late thirteenth century Yorkshire "Weland son of William the Smith," occurring as witness to a deed relating to land at Studley Royal, near Ripon; and this is highly interesting as a proof of the popularity of the name down to so late a period.

The (mythical) father of Weland the Smith was the giant Wada, who ruled the Helsings (between Upsala and Lapland). The *Vilkinasaga* tells of him that he carried Weland as a child through the water on his shoulders—a pagan St. Christopher; and he was the owner of "Wade's boat," about which there is curious mythological matter (see Professor I. Gollancz, *Saga-book of the Viking Club*, v, 104; and George Stephens, *King Waldere's Lay*, 34). The Anglian Wada *dux* or earl, who lost the battle of Billingham, near Whalley, against King Eardwulf in 798 (Symeon, *Hist. Reg.*, s.a.), and a Wada who fought Vikings in Thanet, 853 (*ibid.*), show that his name was also in use. Widia the son of Weland had namesakes as mint-masters to Knút and Harald I. Any such may have claimed descent

from the mythical hero; and they strengthen the theory that the Leeds crosses were connected in some way with a family of similar pedigree.

We have, however, still to take into consideration one more stone, which, though now lost, cannot be neglected; and as Haigh seems to have classed it with this No. VI cross, we cannot get farther without discussing it; though it must be said in advance that the real reason for the introduction of Weland on these two important monuments will remain obscure.

VII.—THE LOST “KING OLAF” FRAGMENT.

In his list of the fragments at Leeds in 1856, Father Haigh mentioned as No. 5, “Fragments of a very similar cross [*i.e.* similar to the church cross], on one of which is an imperfect inscription” :—

CVNL
ONLAF

He thought that this cross was so like the church cross that it marked the same sepulchre. The inscription was in Anglian runes, and the last letter of the first line was mutilated, so that it was probably the remains of a runic U, making the appearance of the runic L. Thus he got CUNU[nc], “king,” and attributed the inscription to King Olaf, son of Sitric, who, he said, must have died about A.D. 954.

This attribution was an error; for Olaf Sitricsson was Olaf Cuaran, who is known to have died at Iona much later. In 1870 Haigh revised his opinion (quoted in Rusby’s “St. Peter’s,” pp. 299, 300), and suggested an earlier Olaf, brother of Sitric and Ivar, son of a king of Denmark, who came to Ireland and was accepted as king; after 871 he was not named in Irish annals, “but went to England and died there before 873.” In Haigh’s paper on Yorkshire Runic Monuments in the *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vol. ii, he reads “KVNI[ng] ONLAF,” and attributes to “King Olaf, 870–3.”

At that time Ivar and Halfdan ruled in Yorkshire; no King Olaf is on record as bearing local rule. In the Irish “Three Fragments,” Olaf the White of Dublin is said to be brother of Ivar; the *Ulster Annals*, under 869, mention the two as together besieging and taking the fortress of Alclyde (Dumbarton), and next year also raiding in Britain. Correcting the dates, the last entry stands against the year 871, and this

King Olaf is certainly Olaf the White, whose relationship to Ivar and his family was not so close as the "Three Fragments" passage gives it; they were "brothers in arms," no doubt. I cannot find any reference to Olaf the White's death in England; indeed, Ari the Learned (1067-1148) in the *Landnámabók* (ii, 15) says that he fell in battle in Ireland; and as his widow, Queen Aud, went to the Orkneys and thence to Iceland, it would seem that he had no connection with Yorkshire; the more that he was Norse, while the Vikings in Yorkshire in his time were Danes.

Another ninth century King Olaf, son of Gudröd and brother of Halfdan the Black, seems to have lived in Norway and died there, for the place of his burial is named (*Ynglingasaga*, 54).

But if the style of this cross was very similar to that of the church cross, a ninth century date is hardly possible, for it must have been a tenth century monument. To discuss it is perhaps futile, for we have nothing to go upon except Haigh's slight description; but his imagination did not go so far, surely, as to invent these "fragments" (in the plural) and the inscription, which he is not alone in mentioning. Some explanation is required.

Bishop Browne found it in King Olaf Godfreyson (Guthferthsson), known as the Red, the son of a grandson of Ivar (Godfred O'Ivar), and thus a cousin of Olaf Sitricsson Cuaran. This Olaf of Dublin led the Irish Vikings at the battle of Brunanburh (937) but escaped home, and on the death of Æthelstan (940) came over again to Britain. In 941 he was killed after raiding St. Balthere's monastery and Tynningham; upon which, Symeon of Durham says, "the York men depopulated Lindisfarne, but the son of Sihtric, Olaf, reigned over the Northumbrians." The interpretation of this passage of history has been variously given. Bishop Browne took it to mean that Olaf Godfreyson was king in York before he made the raid into Northumberland; that he died on the way back from Tynningham, and thereupon the men of York went out to take vengeance for him, and brought his dead body back with them. As Olaf was king of both York and Dublin, Bishop Browne suggests that he probably had his seat on the road between York and Chester, the port for Ireland. This road (the Roman road) ran through (or near) Ilkley. Leeds, therefore, an old royal site (the early Anglian kings had a seat in "Loidis"),

was admirably suited for the residence of the king, and he would be buried there—"at the place of the king's usual abode."

Steenstrup, however, in *Normannerne*, iii, 79, makes the king of York at the time of Olaf the Red's invasion and death to be Olaf Cuaran; and Steenstrup's authority is not to be neglected. He is followed by Professor Allan Mawer (*Sagabook of the Viking Club*, vii, 59, 60), who says:—

In 940 Amhlaeibh [Olaf], the son of Sitriucc, known under the nickname of "Cuaran," left Ireland and went to York (Florence of Worcester, 938). His arrival took place just after the death of Æthelstan . . . Simeon of Durham puts his coming to York in the year 939, probably a year too early. Simeon's narrative would imply that this Anlaf [Olaf] was Anlaf Godfreyson, and so would the story in the tract "De Primo Saxonum adventu," but as the Four Masters state distinctly that it was Anlaf Cwiran (*i.e.* Anlaf Sihtrics-son) who went to York, this must be an instance of the common confusion of the two Anlafs.

This would imply that Olaf Guthferthsson the Red was never king of York, and that he was never at Leeds. There is indeed no strong reason for believing that the Danish kings had a residence at Leeds, or that an Irish Viking who died in what is now Northumberland would be buried here. But there are one or two points which may be raised in question of this dismissal of Olaf the Red's rule at York, and in favour of the view that he held the power there for a short time before the coming of Olaf Cuaran.

The "Four Masters" began their work in 1632 and finished it in 1636; they had no special knowledge of English events and merely compiled from Irish annals. Both Symeon and the author of the *Libellus de Primo Saxonum Adventu* wrote early in the twelfth century (Hodgson Hinde, Preface to Surtees Soc., vol. li), and, as Northumbrians, they possessed traditions, and probably documents, of special importance for the history of their own district. If the matter rested on authority, it would seem that they had more weight than the Irish compilation of the seventeenth century.

Symeon's story is as follows: In 939 Æthelstan died, and in that year King "Onlaf" first came to York. Then he went south to Hamton (Northampton) and besieged it in vain.

He turned his army to Tameweorde (Tamworth) and ravaged the country until he reached Legraceastre (Leicester) where he was met by King Edmund with an army. The archbishops Odo (of Canterbury) and Wlstan (Wulfstan of York) intervened and made peace between the two kings, fixing the boundary at Wetlinga-strete (Watling street). In 941 "Olilaf," having ravaged the church of St. Balthere and burnt Tiningaham (Tynningham in Haddingtonshire), soon perished. Whence the York men depopulated the island of Lindisfarne and slew many. But the son of Sihtric, "Onlaf" by name, ruled over the Northumbrians. In 943 the Northumbrians expelled their King "Onlaf" from the realm.

The *Libellus de Primo Saxonum Aditu* is quite clear to the effect that the Northumbrians first made "Onlavus, rex Norman-norum," their king, and that he made peace with Eadmund and was baptized; and that "Onlaf filius Sichtrici" was king afterwards.

The story as given in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is this: A.D. 941. This year the Northumbrians were false to their plighted troth, and chose Anlaf of Ireland to be their king (D). [Then follows a poem in which Edmund is praised for the recovery of the five towns of the northern Midlands from the Danes.] This year King Eadmund received King Anlaf at baptism (AG).—942. This year King Anlaf died (EF).—943. This year Anlaf stormed Tamworth, and great carnage was made on either hand; and the Danes had the victory, and much booty they led away with them . . . This year King Eadmund besieged King Anlaf and Archbishop Wulfstan in Leicester; and he would have taken them, were it not that they broke out by night from the town. And after that, Anlaf acquired King Eadmund's friendship; and King Eadmund then received Anlaf at baptism, and royally gifted him (D). . . .—944. This year King Eadmund subdued all Northumberland under his power, and expelled two kings, Anlaf son of Syhtric and Raegenald son of Guthferth.

Here the sequence of events and the dates vary in different manuscripts, but the impression conveyed is that Anlaf (Olaf) "of Ireland," *i.e.* Olaf the Red, was king of York after Æthelstan's death, and fought with Eadmund in the Midlands; but that "Anlaf son of Syhtric," *i.e.* Olaf Cuaran, comes in later as an enemy of Eadmund. It is to be noted that after the

peace of Leicester, Olaf was baptized. Now to be baptized he must have been a heathen. Olaf Cuaran in his youth lived at the Court of King Constantine and married that king's daughter; it is impossible to believe that he was not baptized at that time. Olaf the Red was no doubt a heathen while he ruled over Dublin as "chief of the Black and White Gall"; and if he were the king of York who fought and yielded at Leicester, his baptism was the natural result of the convention. In a word, I see no reason why we should not accept the gist of the *Chronicle* and Symeon, and tell the story thus: On Æthelstan's death, the strongest of the Viking rulers, Olaf the Red of Dublin, who had already attacked Britain at Brunanburh, made another attempt to unite the Viking powers of Ireland and England. Olaf Cuaran at that time was of no importance. Olaf the Red came to York as king of the Vikings, attacked Mercia in order to recover the old extent of the Danelaw, and was beaten—but not badly beaten—in his attempt. Peace was patched up by the archbishops, and Olaf the Red was "recognised," as we should say nowadays; he was baptized and presented with gifts by Eadmund. Then, still a heathen at heart, and still bent upon extending the Viking realm, he attacked Anglian Northumberland, and was slain in the attempt, at or near Tynningham, after burning a monastery. Upon that, Olaf Cuaran, son-in-law to the Scottish king, saw his opportunity, and claimed the kingdom of York—partly as son of a former king of York, and partly as protégé of the Scottish power, already friendly to the Vikings. His reign (for this tenure) was short, for it was in opposition to the interests of Eadmund, who drove him out.

Now, according to Roger of Wendover (*s.a.* 940), Olaf of York married Alditha, daughter of Earl Orm, by whose help he had gained the position he held, of sharing England with Eadmund. This Olaf who married the daughter of a Yorkshire earl could hardly be Cuaran, whose interests required fidelity to his Scottish alliance; but the newly-baptized stranger from Dublin might well think to strengthen his position by marriage with a local lady, and divorce, or bigamy for that matter, was common among the heathen Vikings, so that there would be no difficulty in his way, if Olaf the Red were the king in question. But if Olaf Cuaran married Alditha, the story of St. Cadroë becomes impossible. This story is to the following effect:

St. Cadroë, who died *c.* 976 (Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, xli), was a scion of the Scottish royal family, and after reaching a great reputation for sanctity, he determined to travel or go on pilgrimage. King Constantine sent him to the land of the Cumbrians, where Dovenaldus (*i.e.* "Dunmail") was king, therefore earlier than 945, when Eadmund drove him out. The Cumbrian king was a relative of Cadroë, a nephew or grandson of Aedh, brother of Constantine, or according to Steenstrup (*Normannerne*, iii, 82), son of Constantine's nephew. After keeping him for some time as an honoured visitor, Dovenaldus escorted him to the town of Leeds (*usque Loidam civitatem*)—"which is the boundary of the Northmen and the Cumbrians," says the life of the saint, probably written in the eleventh century. At Leeds he was received by a nobleman called Gunderic, who took him to King "Eric" in the city of York (*in Euroacum urbem*). This king's wife was also a relative of St. Cadroë.

The name "Eric" is probably a slip for "Olaf," in a story otherwise trustworthy. Eric of York—whether Eric Bloodaxe or the Danish Hring does not matter in this connection—reigned 947 or 948 to 949, and again 952 to 954; both periods are too late for Cadroë's visit, if Dovenaldus (937 to 945) took him to Leeds. Therefore it is fairly certain that Olaf Cuaran is meant, for he was king of York 941 to 944 or 945, and again 949 to 951 or 952; and he had married Constantine's daughter, who must be the queen related to Cadroë and visited by him. Further, as Constantine abdicated in 942, the period of the visit is narrowed to 941 and 942, or allowing for the slowness of travel and length of visit in Cumbria, to 943.

At this time therefore Olaf Cuaran was still married to King Constantine's daughter, unless it can be proved that the life of Cadroë is entirely fictitious; and it was not he, but another King Olaf who married Alditha. The other King Olaf was Olaf the Red, who by this time had died, after a short tenure of the kingdom of York.

Now there is no indication that Leeds was a royal residence at the period, or that a king of York would be brought there for burial. The king and queen were to be looked for at York, as Eric and his queen Gunnhild were, when Egill Skallagrims-son, a little later, went to visit them (Egil's saga, cap. 62). Gunderic was the lord of the place who entertained the very distinguished visitor, brought to Leeds by a king in person.

How then can we account for the name of "King Olaf" on a grave-monument at Leeds? Assuming that the words were really on the stone as copied by Haigh, I think we need not suppose that it was the epitaph of the king himself. It might be that of one of his family. Indeed, it is not difficult to infer a group of circumstances which would account for it. After the death of Olaf the Red, if he was king of York and married to Alditha, Orm's daughter, his widow could hardly remain in the capital or among the people of the new king, though there was no reason why she should go into distant exile. After Eric's death, his widow Gunnhild went to the Orkneys, among her own kindred; but for Alditha some place "on the confines of the Northmen and Cumbrians" would suffice for a home, and she might settle and be buried here. The epitaph would read "Ealdgyth, once wife of King Olaf," and so the name could enter into the inscription. But any connection of her family with the legendary Weland, or even with Earl Wada, is entirely unknown. Equally unknown is the connection of this second Weland cross with the first, whether they were erected as monuments to two persons of one family, or whether the second was a mere imitation of a striking motive seen on the other. We know too little of the personalities of the age to attempt a solution.

But there may be some object in pursuing a little farther the question raised by the statement in St. Cadroë's *Life* that Leeds was a border town.

THE CONTEMPORARY MONUMENTS OF THE DISTRICT.

The map of cross-sites, plotted according to their periods, makes it evident that monumental art came into Yorkshire from the north. The earliest types are found just south of the Tees, and as we travel through the county we arrive at later styles. The focus of the art-movement seems to be the neighbourhood of St. Wilfrid's and Benedict Biscop's churches on the Tyne and the Wear—not the slightly earlier buildings at York and Ripon. From this central region the earliest types of crosses spread in all directions, following the lines of Roman main roads, which must have been used in Anglian times. Here and there are outliers at famous monasteries founded in "deserts," such as Lastingham, or early churches which may or may not have been monastic, such as Wensley. But on the map

of Old Anglian Northumbria we can follow the early crosses to Hoddam and Ruthwell, Closeburn and Thornhill, as far as the head of Nithsdale, along one Roman road, and by way of Jedburgh, Old Melrose and Lasswade to Abercorn and Aberlady, along another route, with gradual declension from the original standards of style as the sites increase in distance from the centre of impulse. Similarly, going southwards, we find remains of eighth century type at Croft, Easby, Northallerton, Masham, Tanfield, Ripon, Cundall, and Aldborough, with outliers at Wensley on the west, Lasingham and Hackness on the east. South of Aldborough the roads spread fan-wise, and connect Ilkley, Otley, and Collingham, where there are eighth century monuments; at York it is perhaps not surprising that the destructions and reconstructions of the eighth century and afterwards have obliterated the earliest remains. South of Wharfedale the stones are a little later; the art-movement does not seem to have reached Leeds before 800, and then it passed on to Dewsbury, Thornhill, and Sheffield, arriving in the extreme south of Yorkshire when the ninth century was already well advanced.

With this general sketch of the history in mind, it is hardly necessary to complicate the subject by taking for more detailed review a greater area than Wharfedale, Airedale, and Calderdale; the remains in this district ought to show how Leeds stands in relation to the surrounding country.

At Collingham the "Apostles" shaft may be dated late eighth century; the shaft with a runic inscription is of the middle of the ninth, and the fragments with a trellis pattern and head of almost penannular form are later. At some date after the Danish invasion, but not in the first years of Danish settlement, Collingham ceased to serve as a burial-place for persons of importance; it seems to have been replaced by Kirkby Wharfe, where there are stones similar to the latest at Collingham, as well as a cross-head of the tenth century, showing continuance into the Viking Age of the church there, of which there are no monumental evidences before the Danish invasion.

At Otley there are parts of an extremely fine cross of the later part of the eighth century, and remains of others showing unbroken series through the Viking Age to the Normans.

At Ilkley there are remains in great plenty from the end of the eighth to the end of the ninth century, but nothing of



Thoresby Society.

Photo.—The Rev. C. T. Campion.

CROSS-FRAGMENTS AT ABERFORD.



Thoresby Society.

Photo.—The Rev. E. B. Smith.

CROSS-SHAFT AT KIPPAX.

the tenth. Ilkley's place as a burial-site seems to have been taken by Burnsall, where the series begins at the date when the Ilkley series ends, and goes on to the eleventh century.

Tadcaster, Wighill, and Thorp Arch possess single fragments of very late type and minor importance. At Saxton is a head of the same school as the "penannular" group at Collingham and Kirkby Wharfe (late ninth century).

Aberford has two heads of this period, and a shaft of later date, here figured from a photograph by the Rev. C. T. Campion; they are interesting relics of the transition, showing no distinct Danish influence, though the shaft must have been erected long after the invasion. The church there, on the main road, must have been of some importance to a population still Anglian in the tenth century.

Barwick-in-Elmet has two stones: one of the latest style of the transition, with a debased trellis-pattern. The other is of a still later type, difficult to date, but possibly late tenth or even eleventh century; it bears a group seen also in the Nunburnholme shaft, but very badly drawn and rudely carved, and a debased tree-pattern connecting it with the Calderdale series. (See plates in the Rev. F. S. Colman's *History of Barwick*, Thoresby Soc., vol. xvii, p. 36.)

At Guiseley the remains of two monuments are connected with Barwick by their motives of ornament, placing them in the Viking Age, but not as Danish work. They show the Anglian survival at its last development.

The curious shaft at Kippax, shown in the photograph by the Rev. Emill B. Smith, is another example of this transitional period, still without Danish features. Between the two fragments which remain, a piece has been lost, for there must have been at least four of the rude incised double volutes that serve as ornament to the upper panel. Underneath them is a clumsy figure standing upon two snakes, possibly meant for Christ treading on the powers of death and evil, as in the Bewcastle cross where He stands on two monster-heads, and as in late shafts (e.g. Burton-in-Kendal, contemporary with the stone at Kippax) He bears the palm of resurrection and stands on a serpent. Lower still are two coarsely-sketched dragons. How much of the shaft is missing cannot be known, but the reverse had a plait of tenth century type, and one edge bore a rectangular pattern, something like that on the Kirkby Wharfe cross; the

other edge is destroyed. This suggests a date not earlier than about 900, and the character of the work is rustic and untaught, showing that there was a church at Kippax among people who had been untouched by Danish influences.

Passing Rothwell and Adel, where the stones are of such late type that they can hardly be much earlier than the Norman Conquest, at Bradford we find a late fragment of the same non-Danish style, and another at Bingley. The font at Bingley bears rude ornament which can hardly be earlier than late eleventh century; the runes, which have been attempted by several readers on the supposition that they are Early Anglian, seem to be of the late or Scandinavian kind, so far as any letters can be made out, and this form of writing cannot be earlier than the date given to the ornament.

Further up Airedale are the two rich sites of Kildwick and Gargrave, both beginning late in the ninth century and running into the tenth. At Kildwick the grotesque figures and the treatment of plaits, and at Gargrave the wheelheads, at last give us indications of the Viking influence for which we have been looking in vain, except at Burnsall, throughout Wharfedale and Airedale. There is one more fragment of Norse type, already described, from Slaidburn. Our inference is that these higher parts of the dales were not places of civilisation and culture in Anglian times, but settled and developed in the tenth century by new immigrants, possibly Norse, from the west; while the rest of the area was left pretty much to the old pre-Danish inhabitants right on into the tenth century.

Turning to Calderdale we find large groups of monumental remains at Dewsbury and Thornhill. Those of Dewsbury begin early in the ninth century; the Thornhill stones are a little later; both continue through the transition period, but show no Viking characteristics. The Kirkheaton and Kirkburton stones are very late Anglian or transitional, and the Crofton remains are middle ninth and late ninth century Anglian. The Wakefield shaft, now in the York Museum, is perhaps later still, and yet without any feature to show Danish influence. The series represented by the great base of Walton cross, the smaller base at Rastrick, and the somewhat similar ornament on the Birstall stone, though the ornament is derived from Anglian tradition, may be late tenth or eleventh century in date, because it shows ambition and workmanship of an advanced kind, less likely

in the disturbed earlier part of the Viking Age than in the more settled times which followed the union of Northumbria with England. And finally the Mirfield headstone appears to be of the latest pre-Conquest type. South of this, though Sheffield possesses a great shaft of the first half of the ninth century, and High Hoyland a cross-head of a little later, the sites are barren of work showing the hand of the Anglian carver, while they yield no traces of the Dane or Norseman. They show rude and debased ornament on well-shaped and consequently late shafts and heads, as at Cawthorne and Ecclesfield, or else the high relief and acanthus foliage, which cannot be pre-Conquest, at Barnborough, Rawmarsh, and Thrybergh.

HISTORICAL INFERENCES.

This slight review, condensing fuller descriptions and illustrations which may be seen in the *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vol. xxiii, part 2, covers all south-west Yorkshire, and shows that Danish or Scandinavian influence is conspicuously absent throughout the district of Leeds and Elmet, although on the west, approaching Craven, there are a few sites (Burnsall, Kildwick, Gargrave, and Slaidburn) where the presence of late Scandinavian settlers may be inferred. If the Danes had colonised this area when Halfdan partitioned the lands of Northumbria among his followers, we should surely see evidences of their taste in art at these sites, as we see them so thickly scattered in the North and East Ridings. At the very time when the Danish kingdom was flourishing (867-954) the West Riding cross-carvers followed the old Anglian traditions, debased and decadent from the fine style of the pre-Danish Age; and it is impossible that they could have continued on such lines if the patrons for whom they worked had been of Danish blood and feeling, or closely in touch with the kingdom of York.

Some further confirmation of this view may be found in the remarkable list of the guarantors (*festermen*) of Archbishop Ælfric on his election in 1023 (contemporary MS. in York Minster Library, published by George Stephens, Copenhagen, 1881, and by Dr. Jón Stefánsson in *Sagabook of the Viking Club*, 1906). The place-names on the list are chiefly from south Yorkshire, and the personal names are Norse as well as Danish, with some English or Anglian. This shows that by 1023 the south of Yorkshire was inhabited by a mixed race of the three

nationalities, all owning land and possessing equal importance. But sixty years earlier or thereabouts the fusion may have not been accomplished. We find, by tenth century monuments, the Danes hardly penetrating south of Wharfe; and indeed the story in Symeon (*de Archiepiscopis Ebor.*) of the Archbishop's safe retirement to Addingham in Wharfedale, during the first years of Danish occupation, proves that this part was not then settled by the conquerors. From the west, the Norse, who invaded and occupied Cumberland and the Irish sea coast, pushed inland during the tenth century and occupied the higher reaches of the dales. Between them, and south of them, the Angles or English, who had taken Elmet from the Britons in the early years of the seventh century, still occupied their old settlements, as they apparently did in Cumberland and Westmorland, under the rule—perhaps not very strict—of the king of Strathclyde and Cumbria, and interspersed—how far on neighbourly terms we cannot say—among Britons and Norsemen. The mention of a king of Westmorland as one of those who rowed Eadgar on the Dee—"Juchill" (Florence of Worcester, 973) or "Jukil, king of Westmorland" (Roger of Wendover, 974), suggests—doubtful as the incident may be—that even so late there was a dependent or "buffer" state, a fringe of borderland, between Danish Yorkshire and Celtic Cumberland, under a ruler with a name of Danish form (Jóketill, Jókell, *cf.* Jósteinn, etc.), meaning a preponderance of Viking interest, though independence of political attitude. And the ravaging of Westmorland by Thored Gunnarsson, afterwards Earl of Deira, in 966 must have been directed against some such menace to English power in Yorkshire. All this tends to show that St. Cadroë's *Life* may have been right in calling Leeds the border city between Northmen and Cumbri, if we understand by "Cumbri" the mixed race, as in Cumberland, under the rule of King Dovenald or "Dunmail" in 941-3. From that time, however, the Cumbrian power waned, and the area of its influence diminished; south-west Yorkshire would be the first province to be lost; but until then it does not seem to have been an integral portion of the Danelaw.

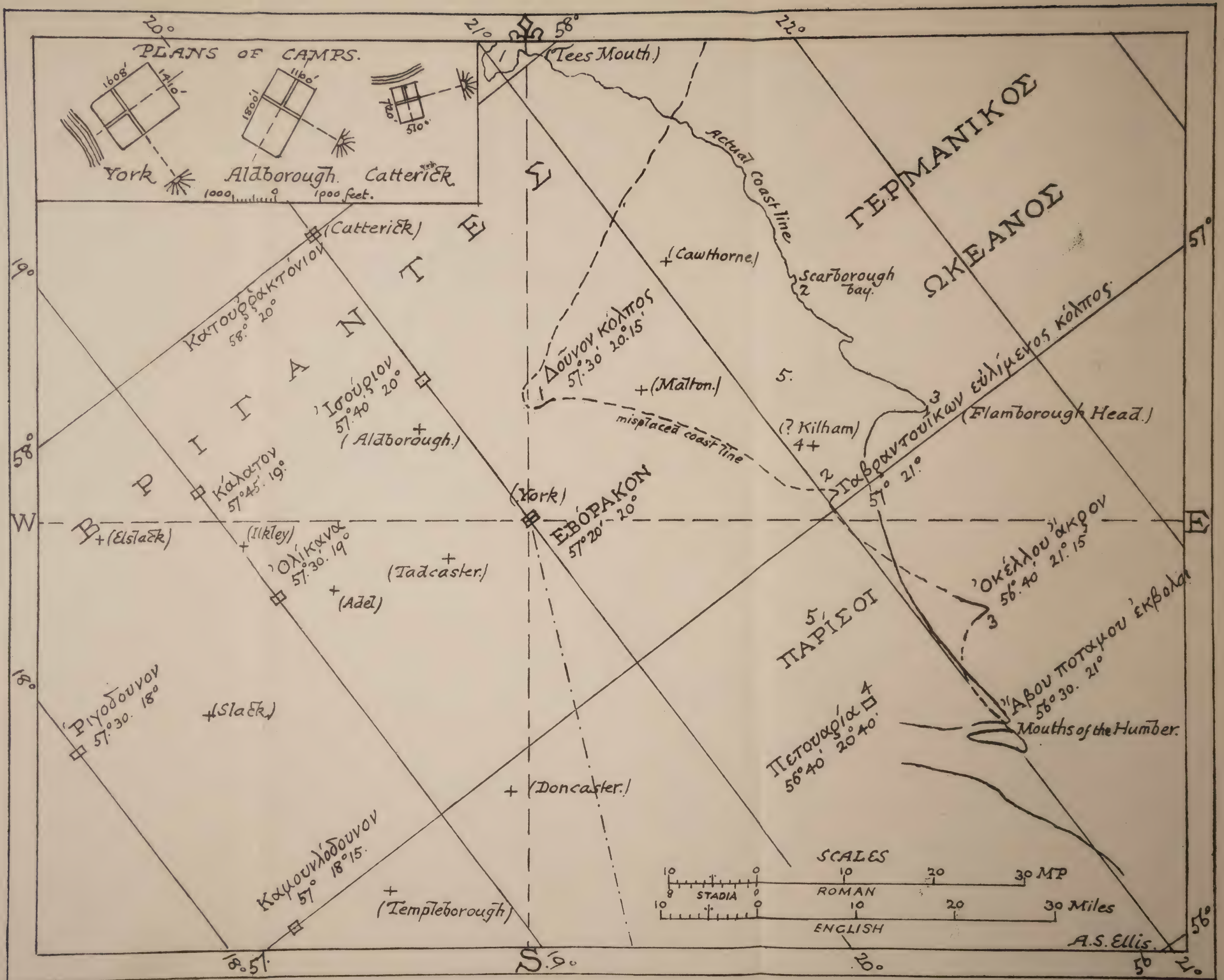
The suggestion that Leeds was a royal residence of the Danish kings is therefore improbable, though near it—"in the country called Loidis," according to Bede, *Hist. Ecc.*, ii, 14,—existed, in much earlier times, a country-seat of the kings of Anglian Deira.

It was also suggested by Father Haigh (in the papers already quoted) that Leeds was the site of the early eighth century monastery of Thridwulf, in Elmete Wood (Bede, *Hist. Ecc.*, ii, 14); and this is not impossible, although we cannot regard the stone (No. IV) with a cross in a cabled circle as the altar from Campodonum mentioned by Bede. Nor can we follow Haigh in identifying Leeds with the monastery "Etlete," where, according to Symeon, Archbishop Eanbald died on Aug. 10th, 796, for the reading is doubtful, and the name is apparently "Etclete"—not *at Lete* but *at Clete*. And if this district was not in the area settled by the Danes immediately after their invasion, the inference drawn by Haigh as to the destruction of the monastery here is unfounded. "We are expressly informed," he says (Rusby's *St. Peter's*, 299), "that all the monasteries of Northumbria, without exception, were destroyed (this, therefore, at Leeds, among the rest) by Halfdene and his followers in A.D. 874, and none restored until after the Norman Conquest." Symeon's statement to that effect appears to refer primarily to the famous northern monasteries on the Wear and Tyne, though no doubt the destruction was wide, and the blow to monasticism was fatal for the time: "A tempore quo a paganis ecclesiae in provincia Northanhymbrorum eversae et monasteria sunt destructa atque incensa, usque ad tertium annum praesulatus Walchelini, quando per Aldwinum in ipsam provinciam venientem, monachorum in illa coepit habitatio reviviscere, ducenti et octo computantur anni" (*Hist. Eccl. Dunelm.*).

At Whitby, Lastingham, Ripon, and York there are remains of grave-monuments which cannot be dated earlier than the Danish invasion but are of types characteristic of the tenth century. If monasteries as such were destroyed and deserted, churches remained or arose on their sites in many cases, even in the most Danish districts. But outside the Danish area there is no reason for assuming the destruction of monasteries; and it is possible that Leeds, if it were a monastery, as the number of grave-monuments suggests, may have escaped and survived. In that case, it would be all the more suitable for the retirement of the widow of a king who left no successor; for the Anglian monasteries were often, if not usually, double, and provided for the retreat of women as well as men.

The period covered by the monuments is a very dark one in local history, and any inferences that can be drawn from their

testimony must be taken cautiously. But we seem led to conclude that from about 800 to 867 there was at Leeds a church, perhaps a monastery—possibly the abbey of Thridwulf still continuing; and that it was of some importance as the burial-place of notable persons over whose graves tall crosses were erected in the finest style of the time. After 867, in spite of the Danish invasion, it remained and apparently flourished, if the stone No. 4 is part of a shrine-tomb of the late ninth century. In the first half of the tenth century at least two very important crosses were set up, both bearing the Weland figure, but both showing Anglian traditions, dissociating the site from any strong Danish influence. From the story of St. Cadroë and from a review of the surroundings we infer that Leeds was not fully Danicised, but still on the border between the Danelaw and the loosely-knit kingdom of Cumbria, up to the middle of the tenth century. With the downfall of the Danish kingdom of York, and the extension of Southern English influence in Northumbria, the south-west of Yorkshire, including Airedale, seems to have been taken into Anglo-Danish Deira, and Leeds, as an ecclesiastical centre, if not in other respects, lost any importance it had formerly possessed. There are no traces of later monuments, no remains of a stone church of the eleventh century such as can be inferred from fragments of architecture at other places. During more than a hundred years between the absorption of Deira into England and the Norman Conquest there is nothing to indicate survival except the welcome entry in Domesday Book, “*ibi est ecclesia et presbyter.*” And so we can infer a history of at least eleven hundred years, not without changes of fortune, but still with apparent continuity, for the church of Leeds.



Yorkshire c. A.D. 120,

ACCORDING TO

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY.

By A. S. ELLIS.

THE following notes may be of some local interest now that the Roman remains in Yorkshire are likely to be systematically and exhaustively explored by such experts as Mr. Thomas May, F.S.A. (Scot.), seeing what he has done at Elslack so completely.¹

As a slight contribution to awaken a more general interest in the work,² I, though not an expert, have drawn the accompanying map—made a good many years ago—of what was known of Yorkshire to Ptolemy, the famous Greek astronomer and geographer. His great *Geography* of the Roman Empire and of the world, so far as he could get any information, must have been written before he retired, A.D. 127, to Alexandria to devote the rest of his life to astronomy.

This map has been constructed from the latitudes and longitudes of cities and towns, of the bays and headlands on the coast line and of the river mouths given in Ptolemy's work. No inland features as peaks or mountain ranges are included, only the Caledonian Wood! The latitudes and longitudes must have been copied from the great map of the Roman Empire, with these lines shown with their proper numerals, which had been gradually built up from provincial, district, or local surveys, transmitted to Rome, and there more or less accurately fitted together in the remaining vacant spaces of the skeleton map. The central part of this great map—the Mediterranean, though some degrees too long, and the countries round it—is, naturally, more correctly outlined. It would seem that he must have been receiving and including in his work data from Rome, as the limits of the empire were extended, perhaps, even to the time of his death, about A.D. 150.

¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xxi, 114.

² The most available work to consult is *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, edited by Dr. Petrie, 1848, folio, vol. i only printed. This is to be found in most public libraries. It contains all that refers to Britain in Ptolemy's *Geography*.

The first map of the Roman empire, it is said—one without lines—was ordered to be prepared by Julius Cæsar himself, who probably lived to see Gallia and the coast of Kent outlined on it. Augustus continued this great work, and had “a copy engraved in marble in the porticus of his sister Octavia, B.C. 7.” But it was Marinus of Tyre, in the first century A.D., who first constructed a map of the Northern Hemisphere, with latitudes and longitudes, and with the places given position on these lines. He, it seems to me, constructed an improved map of the empire from which Ptolemy got his data when at Rome, Grecising all the names which were, no doubt, in Latin. Some mark like this:—o, must have been used to show exactly the position, as the name would not be enough. This map was probably either painted on a wall, or engraved on a marble floor of some public building in the Capitol or the Forum, like the plan of Rome, some fragments of which are preserved. Unfortunately, Marinus used the degree of Posidonius instead of the longer and much more correct one of Eratosthenes of 700 stadia calculated three centuries before.¹ Ptolemy’s *Map of the World* extended from longitude 0° to 180°, and from latitude 60° north to 20° south. On the other hand, the empire map must have been to a much larger scale on account of the detail shown, and would extend from longitude 0° to 60°, and latitude 60° north to 20° north, so the meridian 30°, which passed through Rome, would be the perpendicular centre line of the map.

The length of the longest day fixed the position of the towns on the parallels of latitude. Ptolemy himself tells us he got the particulars from Marinus. How incorrect these were may be seen in the following table:—

	Longest day.		Latitude.			
	Marinus. Hours.	As known. Hours & mins.	Ptolemy. Deg. Min.	As known. Deg. Min.		
London	18	.. 16 35	50 0	.. 51 31		
York ..	17½ + ⅓	.. 17 0	57 20	.. 53 56		
Catterick	18	.. 17 6	58 0	.. 54 23		

London must be an error in the MS. copies perhaps for 17. The longitudes are more difficult to compare as Hipparchus’ prime meridian beyond the Pillars of Hercules was still used, and is even to the present day by the Russians!

¹ See article “MAP” in the 11th edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by Lieut.-Col. Close and Col. Ross Clarke.

The information that Ptolemy gives us,¹ translated, is:—

“South of the Selgovæ and Otadeni, reaching to both seas, dwell the Brigantes, among whom are these towns:—

	Longitude.	Latitude.
Epiacum ² (Chester-le-Street) ..	18° 30′	58° 30′
Vinnovium ² (Binchester) ..	17° 30′	58° 0′
Cataractonium (Catterick) ..	20° 0′	58° 0′
Calatum (Elslack?) ..	19° 0′	57° 30′
Isurium (Aldborough) ..	20° 0′	57° 40′
Rigodunum (.?) ..	18° 0′	57° 30′
Olicana (Ilkley) ..	19° 0′	57° 30′
Eburacum (York) ..	20° 0′	57° 20′

VI Legion, the Victorious.

Camunlodunum (.?) ..	18° 0′	57° 0′”
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“Besides these about the Portuosus Sinus are the Parisii and the town—

	Longitude.	Latitude.
Petuaria (.?) ..	20° 40′	56° 40′”

Ptolemy had already given these names of the features of the coast-line from north to south:—

	Longitude.	Latitude.
Dunum Sinus (? Tees Bay) ..	20° 15′	57° 30′
Gabrantuicorum Sinus Portuosus (.?)	21° 0′	57° 0′
Ocellum Promontorium (Flam- borough Head) ..	21° 15′	56° 40′
Abi fluvii Ostia (mouths of the Humber) ..	21° 0′	56° 30′

To start the map given, we begin with Catterick, a fixed point at the crossing of latitude 58° and longitude 20°; the latter is made to pass through York at two-thirds of a degree south, and that gives us latitude 57° by adding the third required. Longitude 19° is got—as it passed through Ilkley—by its distance from the line joining York and Catterick. These were the lines Ptolemy must have actually seen on the imperial map, but the degrees and minutes would not have been under each name, but were merely judged of roughly, and the minutes given only in multiples of 10 or 15. These particulars were more probably copied from an official Reference Book which he was allowed to transcribe.

¹ The first printed edition, that of 1478, is a Latin translation of the Greek. It gives the world map, also enlarged ones of Italy, Gaul, Spain, and the British Isles. These are reproduced by photo blocks in Mr. Charles Isaac Elton's *Origins of English History*.

² These two stations—Chester-le-Street and Binchester—are in Durham, so the Tyne was the northern boundary of the Brigantes.

On examining the map, what seems obvious is that Agricola had no skilled geometers attached to his forces, so that he may have had to rely possibly on the Agrimensores, who had begun to set out the territorium of York. It looks as if they took the decuminal axis of the camp there, and extended it some miles beyond Bootham Bar, and carried it on as a base line as far as Aldborough, and finally to Catterick, the country being more or less level, forgetting that it was not a meridian. Then, when this local survey was copied to be transmitted to Rome, this being the only line shown, was there taken to be a meridian identifying it as 20° , which was made also to pass through London! This was very far out, as shown by the dotted line. These skilled surveyors would know how to get the meridian by a rod which at mid-day would give a much longer shadow than they were accustomed to get in Italy, so it is evident it was an oversight. A degree at this latitude is known to be 40.5 miles, measuring it on this map only 25 English miles, which is far out.

If the camp at York was set out with augural ceremonies at sun-rise, these must have taken place about mid-winter, probably under Agricola himself, A.D. 79-80. If these same ceremonies were used again at Aldborough and Catterick, then the sites of these camps were fixed upon respectively in February and some time before or after the vernal equinox following, as will be seen by the small plans I have added to the map.

Some of the camps in the north are of the oblong type, which superseded the square form described by Polybius. Hyginus has left a detailed account of how the former were set out, and as he was living about this time it is just possible he may have been attached to Agricola's staff.

Most of the camps are of the older type. At Elslack Mr. May found an oblong fort over a small square one.

The camp at York seems to be a reversal of his rules if Petergate represents the "Via Principalis" and Stonegate the "Via Pretoria."

The coast-line from Flamborough Head to the Tees Bay was manifestly a separate survey or even chart, perhaps made by some skilful maritime official under Agricola in the fleet co-operating with his land forces, sent without being compared at York with the inland one to Rome, and there fitted on to the map as best they could. It was so misplaced that this is the

only possible explanation for that commanding feature of the coast—Flamborough Head must be “*Ocellum Promontorium*.”¹

It will be seen by the dotted shore-line on the map that the distance from the delta of the Humber to Flamborough Head is not more than one-third of what it really is. On the other hand, the length of the actual coast-line northward from the headland to the Tees is very nearly correct, though misplaced.

Early maritime charts are said to be more accurate than inland surveys. My figures 1, 2, and 3 over the names given by Ptolemy I have relatively transferred to suit this suggestion; 4 and 5 go with the others as indicated.

It follows, then, that “*Sinus Portuosus*,” the bay “full of ports” or “well havened,” which is not quite the same thing, must, there can be no alternative, have been the slightly concave stretch of coast from Scarborough to Filey brig, some seven miles indented with several small bays or “wykes,” with places where boats could be safely beached. One of these is called “The Wyke.” There are also a few others north of Scarborough. The settlers were the *Gabrandvicii*—of Ptolemy, and were probably Norse vikings, or bay men from the Frisian colony in South Norway, presently mentioned. *Gabrand* looks like one of the old Norse personal names, *Gulbrand* or *Garbrand*.

Ptolemy gives the names of the two peoples who occupied our county, viz. the *Brigantes* and the *Parisii*.

THE BRIGANTES.

The *Brigantes* were evidently the more powerful, and in possession of, at least, the whole of Yorkshire except the territory of the *Parisii*, as far north as the Tyne, and Lancashire as well, for Ptolemy wrote “from sea to sea.” Their capital was, it appears, *Isurium Brigantum*, which, says Prof. Rhys (p. 307), was so called on account of its low position, “*Is*” and, I may venture to add, “*ur*,” from its being on the river Ure.

Tribes from the east pressing on in Central Europe towards the west caused the great migrations of the inhabitants some centuries B.C., and it looks as if the *Brigantes* came down the Rhine and crossed the North Sea to the Humber from a district at the east end of the *Boden See*, or Lake of Constance, never

¹ The “*Ocell*” of “*Ocellum*” must be the Celtic “*uxel*,” meaning “high,” though some writers think not. The word is from the same root as the Greek *Upselos*.

forgetting their name. There we find in Roman times a town called Brigantia—now Bregenz—and behind it the extensive mountain forests known as the Bregenzer Wald. On the other side was a Roman town called Campodunum—now Kempten—and about twenty miles north of Ravensburg, reminding us of Ravenser.¹ Our Campodunum is the only other place of that name in the Roman empire, except Ferrol, which was also so called. It looks as if the tribe divided before they moved, the old and less adventurous only got away across the Alps, and finally settled down at the place they called Brigantium, now Briançon, in Dauphiné.

Long after they settled in Britain they appear to have colonised the south-east of Ireland, for Ptolemy locates there a tribe called Brigantes.

As to this name, the usual derivation "is from 'Braighe,' Gaelic for high ground, hence 'Brigant,' a mountaineer," but Prof. Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, 279) writes, the word "Brigant is the Gallo-Brythonic form of a common Celtic brigent . . . and would seem to have meant the free men or privileged race, as contrasted with the Goidelic inhabitants." Now it has come down to mean only mountain robbers!

I suggest that it is highly probable that Catterick was the "Cattræth" of "The Gododin" of Aneurin, called "the king of the Welsh Bards," a chieftain himself in the north who was there, but survived the capture of the place.² Professor Rhys (p. 152) identifies the Gododin with Ptolemy's Otadini. It must also be remembered that "Cunedda" (? Kennedy) and his sons, who invaded and parcelled out Wales, came from the northern district occupied by the Gododin (*ib.* p. 116), possibly by this route.

THE PARISII.

As to the Parisii, it is difficult to believe they occupied Holderness, and the position of their town, Petuaria, has never been satisfactorily settled. Patrington is suggestive. Prof. Rhys (p. 39) proposes Hedon. The question to decide first is whether the Parisii were or were not a trading race of mariners. If they were, it is not so unlikely the Parisii were emigrants

¹ This passage must have been written without having read a paragraph in the late Mr. Fairless Barber's paper on "Slack" (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, i, p. 9) about the name Cambodunum "occurring among the inhabitants of Noricum in the Rhætian Alps, and, singularly enough, not far from a Brigantian Lake." This is too learned for ordinary readers to locate without trouble.

² Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, book iii, c. iv.

from those on the Seine. On the other hand, if a seafaring people, they were probably Frisians. Dr. Latham wrote, in his edition of *The Germania of Tacitus* (p. cxxx), "From the Frisians of Jutland came the *Φιραιῖνοι* of Ptolemy," in the south of Norway; if so, they crossed the sea north as well as west.

An alternative suggests itself that the Parisii, as well as those here, were both colonies of the Frisians at some remote prehistoric date. The former occupied only the island called "La Cité," in Paris. A Roman inscription on an altar there found is dedicated to the Emperor Tiberius (A.D. 14-37), by a sea-faring traders' guild called the "Nautæ Parisiaci." So they may be perhaps called the Phœnicians of the North Sea. They possibly even made some primitive bargain with the Brigantes to convey them across the sea. If the Veneti in Brittany, mentioned by Julius Cæsar for their skill in shipbuilding, were a colony of Phœnician origin, the Frisians may have learnt their craft by intercourse with them originally.

PETUARIA.

The town of the Parisii, and if its recorded position be fixed by the maritime survey, as suggested, would point to Kilham-on-the-Wolds, where seven roads now meet, probably ancient track-ways. Prof. Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, 300) derives the name from "fourth, *i.e.* quarter." Some might think "ped-war," *i.e.* four, seems more likely. On the other hand, the late Canon Isaac Taylor (*Words and Places*, 146) wrote: "This is a name that cannot be explained from Celtic sources, but which points undoubtedly to the German root, 'wære,' inhabitants," as Kantware, the men of Kent. This seems still more probable if we take "Pet," the old spelling of "pit," we get "pit-dwellers," which the inhabitants very likely were. The junction of so many roads suggests that buyers and sellers met here, as at spring and autumn fairs, to barter flocks and herds, or rather fleeces and hides, for foreign wares, arms, enamelled ornaments, and the like, brought oversea from Gaul, and landed at the "well-havened bay."

CAMUNLODUNUM AND RIGODUNUM.

The position assigned by Ptolemy both to Camunlodunum and Rigodunum has occasioned many theories and suggestions, all more or less unsatisfactory. Slack, and even Doncaster

(Danum) for the former, and Ribchester (Coccium) for the latter. The Romans did not change the names of places as a rule, any more than we do. In the map Ptolemy saw, the towns, two or three, in Lancashire were not shown, so we may infer that no survey of that district had been received at Rome, or Ribchester at least would not have been omitted.

Seeing that "Campodunum" was a town of historic importance after the Romans left and a royal seat, a site so high up as Slack, 875 feet above ordnance datum, seems most improbable. Some position near or north of Leeds, Adel for instance, appears more likely in a populous district abounding with ancient tracks, which had apparently been patched up by the Romans, but were not military roads.

It does not follow that Camulodunum was the Cambodunum of the Antonine itinerary; both may have existed. The prefix in either case is not the same. Ptolemy, if the MS. copies can be relied on as correct, spelt the name of Colchester, Camudolanum, and of this place Camunlodunum. Both seem to have been named after Camulos, the Gallo-Celtic Mars. The map suggests that if we consider the names of these two places, Camulodunum and Rigodunum, were relatively out of their proper position by twelve miles or so to the west-south-west, then the former would cover Templeborough, and the latter Slack.

It would be a great aid if some of the Roman milestones were to be discovered in this part of the county, especially *in situ* with their inscriptions.

The Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117-139) ordered an immense number to be set up in his name through the Roman empire. These have been found from near Bangor, in North Wales, even to Palmyra, in Syria, where I have heard quite a series of them still exist. These were cylinders, about 1 ft. 9 in. in diameter and 5 ft. 10 in. long, judging by the very perfect Bangor one, which is now in the British Museum.

The writer is much indebted to Mr. C. T. Whitmell, M.A., of Leeds, for testing his figures and correcting some of his calculations.

“The Tricks of the Trade.”

FACTS AND FICTION CONCERNING THE YORKSHIRE TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

By HERBERT HEATON, M.A.,

Sometime Fellow of the University of Leeds.

EVERYONE has, at one time or another, encountered some instance of a story which has grown by being passed from mouth to mouth. The mind of man is naturally constructive; it hates a simple statement, and loves to adorn a plain tale with all manner of frills and furbelows, so that when this process has been repeated for a dozen times, the ultimate product bears very little resemblance to the few sentences from which it has been evolved. This is the case, whether the story is one of fact or fiction. We hear a tale, or a description of the personality or performances of someone. We pass on the news, but add to it all those embellishments and rhetorical exaggerations of which most of us are capable. Others follow our example, so that when someone eventually comes to recount the story to us, we have difficulty in recognising it as an old friend. The faculty for ornamentation is very strong; thanks to it, a simple legend grows, until it almost oversteps the bounds of legendary credibility. In the same way, a piece of authentic history is doctored, supplemented, and infused with a wealth of detail, until it requires the X-rays of historical criticism to find the nucleus of fact in the mass of fiction.

Some time ago, the present writer encountered an interesting instance of this phenomenon in connection with the Yorkshire textile industry. The theme is that ever-recurring topic, “the tricks of the trade.” Few other subjects lend themselves to such eloquent treatment! The economic iniquities of the times have provided an inexhaustible source of inspiration for the condemnations of writers in all ages. The MSS. in the Record Office contain literally hundreds of complaints concerning the decay of trade, or of virulent attacks upon the slender processes which men have adopted for the furtherance of their own selfish welfare. I think it was Dr. Cunningham who once declared that it was possible to prove, from documentary evidence,

that the trade of England has been "going to the dogs" since the time of the Romans. It is equally possible to show that, from the beginnings of economic development down to the present day, business methods have been corrupt, products have been false and deceptive, and that the consumer has always lain helpless at the mercy of villainous, dishonest, and plundering producers. One cannot doubt that there is some truth in many of the complaints concerning the morals of production. It requires a certain amount of faith and foresight for a man to rely on the high quality, rather than the cheapness of his goods, to gain him a market. Especially is this so in the case of commodities of low quality, such as Yorkshire cloths have always been. Here, considerations of price are all-important, and the man who can offer the cheapest article to the poorer classes of consumers will very probably succeed in outdoing his rivals. But cheapness and profitmaking may not go together, and so the producer has to resort to certain tricks or fakings in order to make his goods yield him some remuneration for his labour. That being so, it is almost inevitable that complaints from consumers should be numerous, and that an industry producing wares for a cheap market should be subject to much attention from those in authority.

Attempts to enforce a fair standard of honesty upon the Yorkshire clothmakers have been numerous, from the Middle Ages up to the end of the eighteenth century. The craft guilds of York, Beverley, and Hull, in their day, made regulations to prevent fraudulent manufacture. They forbade night work, enforced apprenticeship, and appointed searchers to visit work-rooms, in order to detect and bring to justice all who produced unworthy fabrics. That the guilds succeeded in realising their aims, few will maintain, though their ordinances would undoubtedly have some restraining effect upon the members. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, the urban industry declined, whilst that of the rural districts around Leeds, Wakefield, and Halifax increased apace. The industry became most strong in the region which is its home to-day, and the manufacture of cloth was carried on in almost all the cottages and farms scattered over that district. Here there were no guild regulations, no efficient machinery for supervising the industry, or for preventing frauds in the manufacture. This progress in the West Riding is, therefore, contemporaneous

with a series of complaints concerning the industrial immorality of the West Riding clothiers. The indictments were many; for instance, it was declared that clothmakers used wool of inferior quality for the body of the cloth, and only inserted good material in the edges, and at the end of the piece; they were charged with sewing a piece of cloth of superior quality on to the end of a piece of wretched fabric, thus deceiving any purchaser who did not make a thorough examination of the whole cloth before buying it. But the chief complaint was against excessive tentering. It was declared that when the cloth had been fulled, scoured, and milled, the clothier took it to his tenter frame, and there stretched it excessively, both in length and breadth. A little tentering was necessary, and did not cause any deterioration in the piece. But it was pointed out that the Yorkshire clothiers stretched their pieces far too much; a quarter of a yard in breadth, and about 15 to 20 per cent. in length, was said to be the extent to which some cloths were stretched. This large increase in the dimensions of a piece naturally made it very thin and translucent in places; this was remedied by the application of “medicine,” a concoction made of flocks, tallow, oatmeal, etc., which was smeared over the thin places, and gave the fabric a firm and thick appearance, until the first time the cloth was wetted, when all this packing was washed out, the cloth showed its faulty places, and then shrank to its normal dimensions.

This excessive tentering was a cause of constant complaint, and in the reign of Elizabeth called forth repressive legislation. Many previous statutes had attempted to check the practice, but without effect. In 1597 an Act¹ was passed for “checking the deceitfull stretching and tainting of Northerne Clothe.” This statute referred to the many good laws made heretofore for the regulation of the industry, but lamented that the “saide lawes have not only not restrayned the great abuse but rather have increased the same, insomuch that the Northerne clothes and karseis [kerseys] doe yerely and dayly grow worse and worse to the greate deceit of all nations and to the shame and slaunder of the cuntrye where the same is made.” This depravity was said to be due to the great number of tenters daily used in the northern parts, and the evil was therefore to be eradicated by an entire prohibition of the

¹ Statute, 39 Eliz., c. 20.

use of such frames in future. Searchers were to be appointed by the justices of the peace, to see that the various clauses were observed, and to deface all tenters, so that these implements of evil could be used no more. Such a drastic act meant a severe blow to the northern clothiers, for the industry simply could not be carried on without the tenter frame. Hence the manufacturers of the Riding made strong representations against the Act, and were supported in every respect by the justices of the peace. For a time the Government was obdurate, but eventually, in 1606, the Act was so far modified as to allow a limited amount of stretching on the tenter frames.

Having gained this inch, the clothiers began, as before, to take an ell, and all this legislation had little or no effect on the tone of the industry. Clothiers were not to be expected to reform their ways in obedience to an Act of Parliament. If they could add a yard to the length of a piece, and at the same time succeed in selling the cloth, they would still continue the practice of extensive tentering, and only change their policy when they found that customers at home and abroad refused to take the cheap but stretched wares. Hence we find Fuller writing as follows in the middle of the seventeenth century:—
 "As I am glad to hear the plenty of a coarser kind of cloth made in this county at Hallifax, Leeds, and elsewhere, whereby the meaner sort are much imployed, and the middle sort enriched; so I am sorry for the generall complaints made thereof, insomuch that it is become a generall by-word, 'To shrink as Northern cloths' (a giant to the eye, and dwarf in the use thereof), to signify such who fail their friends in deepest needs, depending on their assistance. Sad that the sheep, the embleme of innocence, should unwillingly cover so much craft under the wool thereof; and sadder that fullers, commended in Scripture for making cloth white, should justly be condemned for making their consciences black by such fraudulent practices."¹

The Stuart Governments continued the task of attempting to regulate the industry and to improve its moral tone, forgetting that the Yorkshire cloths were cheap, and therefore could not be expected to be of high quality. In 1662, a Corporation² of Broad Clothiers of the West Riding was established, in order to supervise the broad cloth branch of the industry, whilst

¹ Fuller, *Worthies of England*, ii, 536.

² Statute, 14 Chas. II, c. 32.

the searchers appointed by the justices still continued their work. But the results of their labours seem to have been infinitesimally small, and by the eighteenth century it was felt that some drastic revision of the cloth laws was necessary, in order to control the manufacture of the kerseys, broad cloths, and other types of fabric which were now such an important part of the foreign trade of the county.

In 1724, therefore, the justices, gentlemen, and many clothiers of the West Riding petitioned Parliament for a Bill to regulate more effectively the cloth industry. The House of Commons at once made inquiry into the state of affairs, and took a great amount of evidence from a number of the petitioners and others. Here for the first time, so far as I can discover, a story was told which was undoubtedly a very important piece of evidence. According to a MS. written about this period, “an able merchant did declare to the House of Commons the abuses he himself had experienced, and that he had been concerned in clothing the army of Russia with the Yorkshire cloth, but that the cloth was so ill manufactured, that by one showre of rain upon a day of review, the cloathing of the whole army shrunk to such a degree that it brought discredit upon the cloth, and lost the trade absolutely. This was the great source of all the evil, and this was the occasion that Prussia undertook this manufacture, and supply’d the North with Cloth. From this fraud sprang the decay of trade.”¹

Whether this explanation is correct or not, it is difficult to say. We do know that about this time the various Governments of Europe were attempting to develop their industries, and that Russia and Prussia were paying attention to the woollen industry. Whether the story quoted above was only an excuse, or was really a cause of the Russian exclusion of English cloths, one cannot say. But the important thing to notice is that, according to the evidence of this “able merchant,” the great shrinkage of the Russian uniforms was an historical event, which took place some time prior to 1724. Having noted that fact, we can proceed.

As a result of the above agitation, an Act was drawn up in 1725,² and another in 1738, to impose certain conditions of sealing and search upon the West Riding industry. At the same time, it was evident that the trade with Russia was not cut

¹ Add. MSS. 33,344, f. 19.

² Statute, 11 Geo. I, c. 24.

off permanently, for between 1725 and 1760 a considerable quantity of Yorkshire cloth passed into the land of the Czar. By 1765 it had become apparent that the cloth laws were once more in need of overhauling. They had failed to control the industry effectively, and must therefore either be abolished, or revised and strengthened. A Parliamentary Committee inquired into the working of the Acts, and noted the illegal practices still in vogue. In the course of this investigation, the Russian story was brought forth once more, and was served up as an account of a quite recent event. It was explained that the English merchants had lost the orders for the clothing of the Russian Guards, and that the faulty nature of the English cloths which had been sent to Russia had compelled the Russian Government to impose a heavy duty on all importations from England.¹ And all this had apparently happened only a little while before this particular inquiry was instituted; the Russian Government had been bitten twice by the wicked Yorkshire clothiers!

One would think that by this time the Russians had learnt wisdom, and that they would eschew all English cloths henceforth for ever. But no! the memory of the Russian is short, and within thirty years the identical experience was repeated. The account of this third exposure of the iniquity of the English clothiers is found in a curious place, namely in the *Moniteur*, the newspaper of the French Revolution. In the issue of 10th July, 1790, there is a dispatch from Leeds, dated 7th June. This missive concerns itself with the Leeds cloth trade, and tells of an event which is apparently of quite recent occurrence. The story is familiar, but there are some picturesque details which are new, and which add to the force of the narrative. A rough translation reads as follows: "The Russian merchants used to obtain from England the cloths which they then sold to their fellow-countrymen. A sharp shower of rain having caught the Russian army the cloths of the soldiers were next day found to be so much shrunken that the mouths of their pockets were somewhere up under their armpits. Since then, the Russian troops have not been clad in English cloth, and we (English) have lost an important branch of commerce."²

¹ Report on the Woollen Manufactures, 1806. Reports, 1806, iii, 373.

² *Moniteur*, No. 191. Samedi, 10 juillet, 1790. For this reference, I am indebted to my friend, Mr. J. R. Firth, M.A., of the City Training College, Leeds.

That sentence about the pockets and the men's armpits is really an admirable addition, and the story can now be said to be possessed of some wealth of picturesque detail. True, the writer of that despatch may have been referring to some period earlier in the century, but there is nothing in his words to indicate this, and he narrates the incident as if it had happened somewhere between 1780 and 1790.

All these misfortunes failed to disillusion the Russian, or to exhaust his patience. Stolid, charitable, and accustomed to long-suffering, he forgave the English their offences, and once more resolved to try Yorkshire cloths. The sceptic may have been somewhat dubious as to the authenticity of the three previous incidents, but there can be no doubts whatever concerning this fourth punishment of the Yorkshire textile rogues. For, in the first place, the story is perfect in every detail. Never were stage instructions more minute than are all the points of this next narrative. Not a line is missing, and the picture might have come from the pen of Arnold Bennett. Secondly, the nature of the volume in which the story appears is a sufficient guarantee of the truthfulness of the account. It is to be found in a book called *Postulates and Data*, published in very sumptuous style in 1852. The volume consists of a series of papers on all manner of topics, *e.g.* Anagrams, Angels, Banks, Borneo, Custom House Abuses, Dwellings for the Poor, Epigrams, The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone (an apocalyptic character), Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, The Plague, Plato, Seventy Weeks of Daniel, Venality of the English Press, etc. In dealing with these diverse topics, the author has a noble aim before him, namely "a baptismal renouncement of falsehood, and devotion to truth." By his work he hopes to re-establish Truth on her throne in this country, and wipe out the epithet, "perfidious Albion." "We have no cause to serve," he declares, "but that of truth, no object but good government. For ourselves and for our country, we hope for the best." Truth in word and deed is to receive its reward, but falsehood is always caught in the net of justice, and pays the penalty. Such is the theme of these essays, and the motive set forth by the writer is sufficiently honourable to dispel any doubts as to the veracity of the data presented.¹ Therefore it

¹ True, the writer does label the narrative as a "retrospective anecdote," but he gives no clue to enable the reader to decide as to whether it is fact or fiction.

is with an easy mind that we turn to the following illustrious specimen of the truth as revealed in this volume:—

"When, after the peace, the Emperor Alexander visited England in 1814, as a sort of acknowledgment of the part she had borne in the European War of Liberation, the clothing of his troops was assigned to this country. His younger brother, Nicholas (now Emperor), went down to Leeds, and a contract for the produce of her looms speedily followed. To superintend the execution of this, a Russian general officer with his staff, some dozen in number, were located for several months in this town. Ostensibly their duty was well performed; day after day might some one of them be seen 'pearking' at Messrs. Wormald & Gott's, and the other leading army clothiers, (who were) emulous in their ostentatious hospitality to the welcome strangers. The changes were rung, *usque ad nauseam*, on venison, turtle, and champagne; the hosts were munificent, the Russians were bibulous. At length the contract was completed to the satisfaction of the contractors, the money was paid, and the officers of the Czar departed with their bargain. On their reaching St. Petersburg the new uniforms were made up with the least possible despatch, and a review commanded forthwith, to exhibit to a delighted monarch and a wondering crowd some 40,000 troops, arrayed in the captivating brilliancy of English cloth. At first all went well. To the martial bearing of the troops, and the precision of their manœuvres, no military eye could be insensible, and the uninitiated would admire what they could not fully appreciate. Unfortunately, or fortunately, according to the point from which we view the occurrence, the weather suddenly changed, and the rain descended heavily. Queen Guenever's misfortune was not worse than what followed; the previously ample coats and pantaloons of fraudulently over-tentered cloth, shrinking into their natural dimensions, exhibited first the ankles and wrists, and were gradually contracting towards the elbows and knees of the luckless wearers, apprehensive of being transformed into *sans-culottes*, when a fresh deluge of rain, washing all the devil's dust out of the cloth, reduced 40,000 of the best equipped soldiers in Europe to the appearance of Falstaff's ragged regiment. The Emperor Alexander withdrew in disgust, to arrange under all possible disadvantages a system of national manufactures, and prohibit for ever the introduction of British goods to compete with them; whilst the clothiers of Leeds have had ample time to reflect that 'the successes of the foolish and wicked form the first rod of their chastisement.'"

Comment is needless.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Emperor Alexander visited England the 8th to the 14th June, 1814, but his brother Nicholas was not in his suite, the names of which are given in the *Annual Register* for 1814. The files of the *Leeds Intelligencer* and the *Leeds Mercury* for June to December, 1814, have been searched, but there is no reference to any Russians having visited Leeds during that time, and there is no reference to such a visit at any time in Parson's *Annals of Leeds*, 1830. Mr. Frank Gott states that there is a tradition that a Grand Duke and his suite dined at Armley House as the guests of his great-grandfather, Mr. Benjamin Gott, at a date not known. There is such a similarity between the stories that it is probable that the later versions are founded on the earliest one.]

The Committee of Charitable Uses, Leeds.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTE-BOOK COMMENCING 1664.

BY THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE COMMITTEE.

As an introduction to the minutes, it may be well to state that very full particulars of the charities of Leeds are given in the report made to the Charity Commissioners, as the result of an inquiry held in Leeds in March, 1896, by an Assistant Commissioner, and published in 1898 by H.M. Stationery Office, price two shillings. Should further information be required on any point arising in the minutes, the report should be referred to. Particulars of the persons mentioned in the minutes will probably be found in either Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, Taylor's *Leeds Worthies*, or in the *Leeds Parish Registers*, printed by the Thoresby Society.

The following extract from the "Report of 1826" on the Leeds charities fully explains the position and powers of the Committee, and renders further comment unnecessary.

"5th July, 1620. By an inquisition taken under a commission of charitable uses, of this date, it was found, that the several messuages, lands, annual rent-charges, and sums of money, in the inquisition particularly specified, were respectively given by the persons, or acquired in the manner in the inquisition mentioned, for the reparation of the highways in and near Leeds, the use of the poor of the parish of Leeds, and the maintenance and support of the free grammar school of Leeds; and by the decree grounded upon the inquisition it was ordered, that the vicar of Leeds, and the twelve individuals therein named, and their successors, should have power to apply the said messuages, lands, rents, and sums of money, to any of the said charitable uses within the parish of Leeds, and should be named the sole and peculiar committee or committees thereof, and that they should appoint yearly four of their number, to receive the said sums of money and annuities, and the rents and profits of the premises, and dispose of the same for the several uses for which they were given, and that the four receivers should yearly, in Easter week, account for the same to the rest of the committees, and that the committees should from time to time convey and assure the said premises and rents, to such persons, and their heirs, as the committees should appoint to preserve the inheritance thereof, and also should demise the premises at the best yearly profit, with sufficient provision for maintaining the houses, buildings, and fences in good repair, so as the leases should be in possession and not in reversion, and should not exceed 21 years, and that all the deeds and writings respecting the trust premises should be kept in a chest in the parish church of Leeds; and it was further decreed, that the direction and disposition of such of the gifts in the inquisition

mentioned, as had been made for two or more of the charitable uses aforesaid, should rest in the discretion of the committees, as they should see most expedient, and that the survivors of the said committees, and their successors, or the greater number of them, and in their default for 40 days, the vicar of the parish of Leeds, after the death of all or any of the said 12 persons, or their successors, should have power to elect other fit persons to make the number of 12, to be joined to the vicar of the parish, who was always to be one, so as to make up the number of 13 persons, to be committees for the charitable uses within the said parish, and that if any of the 12 persons should remove out of the parish, or give up his place, or appear unfit for the same, the residue of the 13 persons, or the greater part of them, should have power to displace him, and elect another in his stead.

“ By the above mentioned decree it was also directed, that the rents and profits of the moot hall or court room at Leeds, which it was found by the inquisition had been built with the poor’s money, and the rents of the shops and rooms under the same, should be applied by the committee to the use of the poor of Leeds ; and it was further ordered, with respect to the toll dish of corn brought into the market of Leeds (of which, according to an order of the duchy chamber of Lancaster, one-third was payable to the bailiff of Leeds, and the other two-thirds were payable to the use of the poor and highways), that two persons should be appointed, one by the bailiff of Leeds, and the other by the committee, which persons should, on every market day, divide the corn gathered, between them, so as the bailiff, or his deputy, should take one-third and the other two parts should be disposed of by the committees to the use of the poor and of the highways.

“ 22d February, 13th Charles 2d. By the decree made under another commission of charitable uses, of this date, reciting an inquisition, whereby it was found that several estates, sums of money, and rent-charges had been given for the several different charitable purposes in such inquisition particularly mentioned and set forth, similar directions were given, as in the former decree, with respect to the property given or appropriated for the highways, the poor and the grammar school, except that the number of the committees, besides the vicar of Leeds, was appointed to be 14, instead of 12 ; and it was further decreed that it should be lawful for the committees to elect a master or usher for the free school, which master should be a graduate in one of the universities, and to displace the master and usher, and to make such laws and orders for the government of the free school, as to them, or the major part of them, should seem expedient ; and as to the several gifts for other charitable uses in the last-mentioned inquisition, particularly specified, it was ordered that the same should be employed according to the meaning of the respective donors thereof.

“ A particular of the several gifts, &c., for charitable uses, mentioned in the inquisition taken in 1621, is contained in the Appendix. [It is reprinted in the Report of 1896.]

“ In pursuance of the decrees, a committee of 15 persons, including the vicar of Leeds, have uniformly continued to act in the general manage-

ment of the estates and property appropriated to the reparation of the highways, the use of the poor, and the support of the free grammar school. The administration of the trust, as to each of the three different purposes, is confided to a separate sub-committee and treasurer, and the accounts respecting each branch of the trust are kept by the respective treasurers, and are examined and audited once a year by the general committee.

“A separate rental and particular of the estates belonging to each branch of the trust is contained in the Appendix.” [It is also reprinted in the Report of 1896.]

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Committee appointed by decree for y^e due Execu^{co}n of Charitable vses, this twelveth day of August in y^e sixteenth yeare of the raigne of King Charles the second.

Att this Court did appeare Marmaduke Cooke, Viccare of Leeds, Wi^{llm} Marshall, Daniell Foxcroft, Marmaduck Hicke, Edward Atkinson, Crō Watkinson, Wi^{llm} Curtis, Robert Rosse, George Banister, being Feofyes for the Execu^{co}n of the decree in that behalfe.

Att this Court John Sympson, gent', was duely Elected one of the Comittee for the execu^{co}n of the decree of Charitable vses in the steade & place of John Barker, dec'd.

Att this Court it was ordered that a letter should be writt to M^{rs} Styles, wi^{dd} and relect of the late reverend Wi^{llm} Styles, late viccar of Leeds, therby signifying vnto her to pay in the tenn pounds being in the hands of her deceased husband and giuen by Henry Watkinson, de^{cd}, to Charitable vse.

p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com^{tee} appoynted by decree for the due Execu^{co}n of Charitable vses this nynth day of November in the sixteenth yeare of the raigne of King Charles the second.

Att this Court did appeare Marmaduck Cooke, Viccar of Leedes, Daniel Foxcroft, Marmaduck Hick, Edward Atkinson, Wi^{llm} Curtis, John Killingbeck, Ro^{bte} Rosse, George Banister & John Sympson, gent., being the maior p^{te} of the Com^{tee} for y^e Execu^{co}n of the decree of charitable vses.

Att this Court Antony Dinnis of Wike was admitted tenant to the Lands and tenem'ts with the appurten'nces in Wike given to Leeds Grammer Schoole & for quiet enioyem't thereof, is to have a lease made in writing, for the tearme of one & twenty yeares, to comence att Candlemas next, hee the sayd Antony Dinnis payeing yearlie the su^{me} of seaven pounde att the Feast^e of Penticost & St. Martin by equal por^{cons}. p' Cur'.

The like order for widd' Cowleing & John Lynley for the Lands & tenem'ts enioyd with the appurten'nce in Woodhouse, vnder the yearelie rent of x[iiiij^{li}] vj^s viij^d at the several feast^e abovesayd by equall porcons.

p' Cur'.

The like order that John Swinden of Halton vpon the payem't of [six] pounds by the yeare dureing the tearme of one & twenty yeares shall hold part of the lands hee nowe Inioyeth (given *rest illegible*).

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com^{tee} appoynted by decree for the due Execu^{co}n of charitable vses the xijth day of November, in the sixteenth yeare of the raigne of King Charles the second.

At this Court did appeare Marmaducke Cooke, Viccar of Leedes, Marmad. Hicke, Edward Atkinson, Daniel Foxcroft, Godfrey Lawson, Wiłm Curtis, Rołte Rosse, John Sympson & George Banister, being the maior p'te of the Com'ttee for the Execucon of the decree of charitable vses.

Att this Court Richard Dicconson did agree for the Lands & tenem'te in his poss'on given to charitable vses & for his quiet enioyem't is to have a Lease in writing to comence att Candlemas next for the terme of one & twenty yeares, vnder the yearlie rent of Five pounde to bee payd att the Feast of Penticost & St. Martin by equall porcons. p' Cur'.

The like order for Thomas Robinson for the lands that hee enioyeth vnder the yearlie rent of three poundes. p' Cur'.

The like order for Richard Atkinson for the Lands that hee enioyeth vnder the yearlie rent of fourty shillings. p' Cur'.

The like order for Wiłd Hardisty for the Lands that shee enioyeth vnder the yearly rent of foure pounde five shillinge. p' Cur'.

The like order for Roger Hillary for the Lande that hee enioyeth vnder the yearly rent of one pound tenn shillings. p' Cur'.

The like order for Wiłd Moore for the Lande that shee enioyeth vnder the yearly rent of fiteene shillings. p' Cur'.

The like order for James Johnson, in the name of Mary Bolland, for the Lande that shee enioyeth vnder the yearlie rent of one pound tenn shillings. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'tee appoynted by decree for [the due] Execucon of Charitable vses the seaven & twentieth day of in the seaventeenth yeare of the raigne of King Charles the second.

Att this Court did appeare Marmaduke Cooke, p'sent Viccar of Leedes, [Henry] Skelton, maior, Wiłm Marshall, Marmaduke Hick, Edward Atkinson, Christopher Watkinson, Godfrey Lawson, Wiłm Curtis, Michael Hutchinson, John Killingbeck, Rołte Rosse, George Banister & John Sympson, gent', being the maior p'te of the Com'ttee for the Execucon of Charitable uses.

Att thes Court it was agreed & soe ordered that Rołte Hall, as Tutor or Guardian of the heires of Austin Cloudsley, should have & enioye twoe closes of land late in the possession of Rołte Stockdale for the terme of one and twenty yeares, vnder the yearlie rent of three poundes p' Annu' & to have a lease in writing accordingly. p' Cur'.

The like order on the behalfe of Abraham Dixon for the lands that hee enioys vpon payem't of five pounds in full of all arreares of rent vntill Martinmas & vpon payem't of fiveteen shillings rent by the yeare, besides the Coppyholde [rent] to the Lord of the Mannor. p' Cur'.

The like order for Thomas Carr for the houses that hee enioys vpon the payem't of seaven shillings rent yearlie. p' Cur'.

The like order for Richard Maude, on the behalfe of the children of Wiłm Allenson, dec^d, for the lande that hee enioyeth, and vnder the yearlie rent of Eight shillings. p' Cur'.

The like order for George Horner for the lande that hee enioyeth, and vnder the yearlie rent of Eight shillings. p' Cur'.

The like order for Nicholas Pawson for the lande that hee enioyeth, vpon p[ayment] of all arreares & vnder the yearlie rent of Eight shillings.
p' Cur'.

The like order for Wiłm Robinson & Thomas Lancaster for the Lande they se[verally] enioye, vnder the yearlie rent of thirty shillings.
p' Cur'.

The like order for Peter Hardisty for the Lands that hee enioyeth, vnder the yearlie rent of fifteen shillings, with covenant that the sayd Peter Hardisty may deteyne & keepe the yearlie rent of five shillings payable vnto Wiđđ M . . . out of the sayd Lande. p' Cur'.

The like order for Richard Harrison for the Lande that hee enioyeth, and vnder the yearlie rent of thirteen shillings. p' Cur'.

The like order for Wiđđ Beck for the landes that shee enioyeth, vnder the yearly rent of twenty foure shillings. p' Cur'.

The like order for Thomas Hardisty for the Lande that hee enioyeth, vnder the yearlie rent of five shillings foure pence. p' Cur'.

The like order for Wiđđ Watson for the Lands that shee enioyeth & vnder the yearlie rent of five shillings. p' Cur'.

A Rentall of all the Lande & tenem'ts given vnto charitable vses together with the names of the Tenante in possession, who have not yet taken leases (to witt).

Wiđđ Wynn for the Lande that shee enioyeth the yearlie rent of twelve shillings.

Geo. Pease, the like . . . ix ^s	Jo : Wim'sley, the like . . . xxiiij ^s
Thomas Amgill, the like . . . xj ^s	Wiłm Metcalfe v ^s
Christ' Thwaites, the like . . . vij ^s	Widd' Geldart, the like . . . xij ^s
Christ' Lobley, the like . . . v ^s	Jo : Pye, the like xij ^s
James Admergill, the like . . . xv ^s	Jo : Thoresby, gen' . . . vj ^s vjd
Widd' Dixon, the like . . . xv ^s	The heirs of Jo : Dickins . . . xj ^s
Abrah : Dixon, the like . . . xv ^s	Roðte Woodall iij ^s vjd
John Roberts, the like . . . iij ^s	Tho : Clough, the like . . . xij ^s
Tho : Johnson, the like . . . v ^s	Widd' Thwaites xx ^s
Jo: Thoresby, gen', the like v ^s vjd	Adam Thornton x ^s
John Hamshey, the like . . . x ^s	Tho : Lupton xxiiij ^s
Joseph Sawer, the like . . . vj ^s	
Widd' Bowes, the like . . . vj ^s	
	7 12 0
	5 8 6
	13 0 6

Att this Court Wiłm Curtis, gent., John Killingbeck, gen', George Banister, gen', and John Sympson, gent., were elected & appoynted to collect, receave & take the rente due & payable the yeare ensueing for any Lands given to charitable vses.
p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'tee appoynted by decree for the Execucon of Charritable vses, this Twenty Fifth day of September, in the seaventeenth yeare of the Raigne of King Charles the second.

Att this Court did appeare Marmaduke Cooke, present Viccar of Leedes, Henry Skelton, maior, Benjamin Wade, Wiłomi Marshall, Mar-

maduke Hicke, Edward Atkinson, Christopher Watkinson, William Curtis, Michael Hutchinson, George Banister, and John Sympson, gent., being the maior pte of the Com'tee for the Execucon of Charitable vses.

At this Court it is ordered that Samuel Sykes, marchant, according to the tenant r[ight] that is in him, shall have and enioy the Closes now in the possession of Edmond H . . . and Richard Dicconson, and accordingly is to have a Lease in writeing to comence at Christmas next, for three yeares, and soe from three yeares to three yeares dureing the terme of one & Twenty yeares, vnder the yearly rent of Nyne pounds p annum payable at the feasts of Pentecost and St. Martin the bishopp in winter by equall porçons.

The like order for Lancelot Iveson of a Close called the Poore folkes Close, vnder yearly Rent of fifty shillings.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'tee appoynted by decree for the Execucon of charitable vses, the nyneteenth day of January, in the seaventeenth yeare of the raigne of King Charles the second.

Att this Court it is ordered that George Banister, gent', doe pay vnto Mr. Samuel Brogdon the sume of three pounds, which is in full for his salary, & one Register booke, bought by him for the Enrolleing of all orders & other thinges touching Charitable vses, & that Mr. Brogden's receipt shalbe a good discharge vnto him for soe much allowed vnto the said Mr. Banister vpon his account.

Att this Court it is ordered that the sum of Fourty shillings bee payd yearlie vnto Mr. Samuel Brogdon, as Clarke vnto the Com'tee of pious vses, & that hee shall have the makeing of all Leases, conveyances, or other Instrumente that doth any way conc[ern] any Lands or tenements given to any Charitable vses, which sayd yearlie allowance to bee made is to begin att the Feast of Penticost next.

Att this Court it is ordered that Marmaduke Cooke, Viccar of Leedes, Marmaduke Hick, Edward Atkinson, Godfrey Lawson & George Banister, gent', or any three of them, doe treat w[ith] the Lords of the Mannor of Leedes touching a fyne to bee made for certaine Lands which are Coppyhold & given to charitable vses & of their p'ceedings herein to make their returne att the next Court to bee holden by the Com'ttee.

Upon the p'vsall of the last will & testament of Thomas Cowling of Woodhouse, deceased, It is ordered that the lande that hee lately enioyed belonging to the Free schoole be [demised] vnto Alice Cowling, his widd' & relict, dureing her naturall life & after her decease . . . [worn away].

Att this Court it is ordered that vpon payem't made by Stephen Hick, an Infant or his Agents, of all the Arreares of rent due & oweing for one house with the appurten'nces in Holbeck, late in the possession of Adam Thornton, the sayd Stephen Hick, by himselfe, his assignes, or vnder-tenants, shall & may peaceably & quietly possesse & enioye the sayd house with the appurten'nces, for & dureing the terme of one & twenty yeares, vnder the yearlie rent of tenn shillings, and George Neale, d'c'or in Physick, & others, feoffees, are hereby desired to passe a surrender accordingly, in the Coppyhold Court holden for the Mannor of Leedes Kirkegate cum Holbeck.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ttee appoynted by decree for the Execucon of Charitable vses, the Fifth day of February in the Eighteenth yeare of the Raigne of King Charles the second.

At this Court did appeare Marmaduke Cooke, present Vicar of Leedes, Daniel Foxcroft, maior, Benjamin Wade, Marmaduke Hicke, Edward Atkinson, William Curtis, Michael Hutchinson, George Banister, and John Sympton.¹

In the due Execucon of an order of this Court formerly made, Marmaduke Cooke, Vicar of Leedes, Marmaduke Hicke, Edward Atkinson & Godfrey Lawson did treat with the Lordes of the Mannor of Leedes, touchinge a fine to be made of certaine Landes that are Coppyhold & given to charitable vses, & vpon that treaty & heareing the allegcons on both sides, it was ordered that fourty five poundes should be payd as a fine for the s'd Landes, the p'ceedinge of which treaty being Certified to this Court the same was ratified & confirmed. And it was therevpon ordered that the s'd sume of fourty five poundes be paid vnto the Lorde of the s'd Manner, vpon surrenders to be past of the Coppyhold houses and Landes to these p'sons hereafter named & their Heires &c., feoffees of the pious vses, to witt, Anthony Wade, gent., Samuel Foxcroft, gent., Henry Mitchell, gent', Seth Skelton, gent., Joshuah Hicke, gent., Edward Atkinson, jun', gent', Theophilus Stables, William Hutchinson filius Michael Hutchinson, Jun., Wilm Dickins, George Banister, Jun', gent., Abraham Hinchcliff, gent., Mr Nathaniell Spencer, Jeremiah Thoresby, John Dawson, Jun', James Moxon, Jun'.
p' Cur'.

At this Court Abraham Dixon had demized vnto him the Close that he now enioyeth (being Coppyhold), vpon the paym't of three poundes for the Arreares & Charges of suite already expended, and vpon the yearly Rent of fifty shillings p annu' payable at Whitsontide & Martinmas by equall porcons.
p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'tee appointed by Decree for the Execucon of Charitable vses the Eleaventh day of June in the eighteenth yeare of the Raigne of King Charles the second.

At this Court did appeare Marmaduke Cooke, p'sent Vicar of Leedes, Daniell Foxcroft, Esq^r, Maior, William Marshall, Marmaduke Hick, Edward Atkinson, Godfrey Lawson, William Curtis, George Banister, John Killingbeck, and Michael Hutchinson, gent.

Whereas certaine Landes form'ly given to the charitable vses & for the rep'acon of the Highwayes are holden of the Manner of Leedes [by] copy of Court Roll, and where-as all the p'sons in the Surrenders menconed as Feoffes in trust are all dead, soe as the Lordes of the said Manner may seize the said Estates vnless speedily p'vented by the paym't of Five and fourty poundes in the nature of a Fyne. [It] is therevpon ordered that Richard Armitage, gent., William Taylor, Thomas Staveley, Henry Crosfeild, the Heires of Fr[ancis] Metcalfe, the heires of Richard Walmesley, Thomas Pickhaver, Christofer Casson, Thomas Parkinson, John Wadsworth, John Rosse, gent., Will'am Nelson, being tenants of the sayd Lande, agree amongst themselves to rayse the said sume and to apporcon the same as they thinke meete (having respect to the valuacon found by

¹ The next fine was not paid until 1730, and was £378. See *ante*, vol. ix, p. 293.

the Jury returned to Inquire in that behalfe, and of their p'ceedings herein), they are ordered to make the same appeare at the next Co'rt to be holden for this Com'ttee, on Munday, the five & Twentyeth of June instant, at the house of Will'am Fostert, gent., and for their better method of p'ceeding herein, It is alsoe ordered that the Clarke of this Com'ttee doe give vnto them a true Coppy of soe much of the Jur's Verdict, as doeth concerne the said Landes. p Cur'.

At this Court it is ordered that William Curtis, John Killingbeck, and George Banister, doe for the yeare ensueing, receive and take all the Rents growing due & payable for the Landes given vnto Charritable vses, & doe give Acquittances for the same, and alsoe yeild a just account thereof when they shalbe herevnto required. p Cur'.

At this Court it is ordered that soe much of the Juryes Verdict as concerns the Rentall or yearely vallue of the Landes given vnto charritable vses be recorded and entered into a Book for that purpose, the which followeth in these wordes (viz.):

A Rentall of the Free Schoole Landes p Annum.

March laine.	£	s.	d.
Thomas Carr	00	13	00
Widdow Alinson, for Coate Land	00	16	00
George Watson, for certaine Cottages	00	08	06
Ralph Wynne, who marryed Watson's daughter	00	16	00
Nicholas Pawson	00	10	00
George Horner	00	10	00
Thomas Lanskerr & Hered' Georgij Lanskarr	01	00	00
Idem p' twoe thyrd ptē belonging to William Robinson & Christofer Altus	01	10	00
Peter Hardisty, six dwellings late belonging George Watson	02	00	00
	8 - 03 - 06		
Call Layne			
Thomas Atkinson	01	12	00
Robert Hollyday	01	06	00
Mr. Robert Lodge	04	10	00
Item p Dickenson & Watson	02	15	00
Thomas Raper	00	18	00
Thomas Moore	00	12	04
Jane Hardisty, widdow	06	13	04
Dorothy Greyson, now Anne White	00	10	00
Roger Hillary	02	00	00
Peter Mylner	01	06	08
James Metcalfe, now Charles Holdsworth	01	10	00
Christofer Hillary, John his sonne half the right	01	02	00
Thomas Robinson	04	00	00
James Johnson, who marryed Cicily Bolland	02	00	00
Richard Atkinson, more for p'te of Bolland	02	10	00
Calles			
Thomas Amgill	00	13	04
George Pease	00	10	00
Christofer Thwaytes	00	08	00
George Fenton	01	00	00
Cristofer Lobly	00	06	08
Jane Hardisty, for Whytes Children	00	06	08
Will'am Hogg, tenant to James Amergill	01	00	00
James Dixon, Widdow	01	00	00
Abraham Dixon	01	00	00
Woodhouse.			
Thomas Cowling	13	00	00
John Lynley	03	05	00

		£	s.	d.
Vickar Laine.				
Thomas Walker	.	01	10	00
John Roberts, form'ly Henry Roberts	.	00	05	06
Thomas Johnson	.	00	03	06
Robert Hixon	.	00	06	08
John Hawmshey	.	01	00	00
Joseph Sawyer	.	00	13	00
William Bowes	.	00	13	00
John Wormley	.	01	10	00
Myles Clark, now William Metcalfe	.	01	00	00
Widdow Geldart	.	01	10	00
John Pye	.	01	13	00
John Roberts	.	00	13	04
Captayne Adam Baynes	.	03	13	04
John Thoresby, for pte of Roberts house	.	00	05	06
Wyke.				
Anthony Dynnis	.	08	00	00
Halton.				
John Swynden	.	07	00	00
		85	11	08
Churchyard.				
Sarah Fletcher	.	00	13	04
Robert Woodhall	.	00	04	04
Henry French, who married vxor Carter	.	01	00	00
Hill house banckes.				
Elizabeth Beck, widdow	.	01	10	00
Will'am Whaytes	.	01	05	00
Richard Harrison	.	00	15	00
Grace Nelson	.	00	05	00
Leedes Towne.				
Edmond Hynde	.	06	10	00
Elizabeth Dakenson, widdow	.	06	10	00
Robert Stockdale, for Robert Hall	.	04	00	00
Holbeck.				
Thomas Thornton	.	00	13	04
Thomas Lupton	.	01	10	00
		24	16	-
Rents belonging to the poore p Ann'm.				
Shoppes vnder the Comon Hall.				
Thomas Hardwick, for his Shopp & Stalls	.	06	06	
John Smyth, for his Shopp & Stalles	.	06	06	
Tymothey Warwick, for his shopp & Stall	.	06	06	
Ralph Dixon & his Assignes	.	06	06	
Widdow Sympson, for her Shopp and Stall	.	07	00	
The Occupyers of the Shoppes in the Hall	.	02	10	
Edward Humphery, out of his shopp, by Mr Nuby	.	02	00	
Mr Mylner, for a Rent charge out of Brook Land	.	00	10	
Tho : Scoales, for the like or Russeyes	.	00	05	
Ralph Askwith & Edward Caddy, their rent charge, out of Russeyes Land	.	00	05	
Widdow North, for her Farme at Beeston	.	10	00	
William Mancklynys, the moyety of his farme, by Mr. Casson gift	.	09	00	
The Heires or Executors of Mr. Rich : Lodge	.	03	00	
The Heires or Executors of Mr. Wilm Lodge	.	02	00	
Swaynson's Lands in one Smythson's occupacon	.	01	12	
Will'am & Jo : Massy, out of Whitecrosse Close	.	00	19	
William Whalley, for a Shopp in the Shambles	.	05	00	

		£	s.	d.
To the poore of Leedes and Houlton.				
Withm Fearne, for James Croft gift	.	00	16	
Thomas Cowp, for Russy Close	.	00	05	
Will'm Lumby, out of Carlton crosse close	.	00	05	
Will'am Amber, for a Close of Enan Story gift	.	02	10	
The thyrd p't to the Bayliwick p week	.	00	04	
The other third p't thereof to the repayre of the Markett				
Steade & Highwayes p week	.	00	04	
The Comon Hall, p Ann'm	.	05	00	
Poor		78	09	
Rents to the Highwayes, p Ann'm.		£	s.	d.
Mr. Richard Armytage	.	02	10	00
William Taylor, Jun ^r	.	03	00	00
Thomas Stavely	.	03	00	00
Henry Crosfeild	.	01	10	00
John Bedford's house, now Metcalfe's	.	01	06	08
Richard Walmesley	.	01	10	00
Thomas Pickhaver	.	00	05	00
Cristofer Casson	.	00	15	00
Thomas Parkinson	.	02	10	00
John Wadsworth	.	01	00	00
Mr. John Rosse	.	02	00	00
Will'am Nelson	.	02	00	00
Robert Colbeck, for a rent charge for certain yeares	.	00	06	08
		21	13	4

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'tee appointed by decree for the Execucon of Charitable vses this foureth day of February in the nineteenth yeare of the Raigne of King Charles the second.

At this Court did appeare Marmaduke Cooke, Viccar of Leedes, Marmaduke Hicke, maior, Benjamin Wade, William Marshall, Edward Atkinson, Cristofer Watkinson, Godfrey Lawson, William Curtis, Michael Hutchinson, John Killingbecke, George Banister, and John Simpson, gent., the rest made default.

For the more speedy discharge and payment unto the Lordes of the Mannor of Leedes the sume of fourty five poundes as a fine for certaine copyhold Landes holden of that Mannor and given vnto charitable vses, Henry Skelton, gen', Daniel Foxcroft, gen', Edward Atkinson, gen', Godfrey Lawson, gen', Michael Hutchinson, gen', John Killingbecke, gen', and Robert Rosse, gen', seaven of the Feoffees (by comon Lott), are to become bound for the same, soe as they be sufficiently indemnified and saved harmeles by such meanes and in such manner as shalbe thought fit and effectuall. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Comitee appointed by decree for the Execucon of Charitable vses the Tenth day of Aprill in the nineteenth yeare of the Raigne of King Charles the second.

At this Court it is ordered that Benjamin Wade, Esq^r, Henry Skelton, Esq^r, Cristofer Watkinson, Esq^r, and Robert Rosse, gent', or any twoe of them, doe according to the power to them given by a decree out of the Honoble Court of Chancery for the Execucon of Charitable Vses for this year ensuing, receave and take all the rents groweing due and payable for the Landes given vnto Charitable vses, and doe give Acquittances for

the same, and alsoe yeild a iust account thereof when they shalbe three-vnto required.

p. Cur'.

Whereas it hath appeared vnto this Court that Marmaduke Hicke and others intrusted in the rebuildinge of the Chappell at Leedes Bridge end (given vnto a pious vse) have expended and layd out the sume of nineteene poundes twoe shillings and nine pence over and above what sumes were contributed and given towards the reperaçon thereof, which in Justice ought to be reimbursed, Wherevpon it is ordered that the s'd sume of nineteene pounds twoe shillings and nine pence be payd vnto the sayd Mr Hicke out of the first clear Rents payable to Charitable vses, and the persons imployed in the receaveing of the sayd Rents are to take a receipt for what sume they payd and which is to be allowed vpon their accounts.

p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Comite appointed by decree for the Execuçon of Charitable vses the foureth day of January in the sixth yeare of the raigne of King Charles the second.

At this Court did appeare Marmaduk Cooke, Viccar, Edward Atkinson, Daniel Foxcroft, Marmaduke Hick, Willm Curtis, Cristofer Watkinson, Godfrey Lawson, Thomas Killingbeck, George Banister, John Simpson, and Robt Rosse, gent.

At this Court it is ordered that the persons in the Schedull herevnto annexed being tenants of certaine Lands given to pious vses, and being in greate arreare of the rent by them respectively due and payable, doe vpon demand pay their respective rents to Alderman Watkinson, or vpon their neglect or refusal that they be forthwith p'ceeded ag't according to Lawe for the due recovery of the said rents.

p' Cur'.

Vpon heareing the allegacons made on the behalfe of Samuel Sikes, merchant, It is ordered that vpon paym't of the Arreares of rent by him due according to the reservaçon in his first lease that an other lease be made vnto him of the Lands to have for the same tearme in his first lease expressed, and vnder the yearely rent of Eight pounds payable at the Feastę of Pentecost and Martin by equal porcons.

p' Cur'.

Upon readeing of the order of this Court made the nineteenth day of January in the Seavententh yeare of this King, it is ordered that vnless Nathaniel Booth, whoe married the wiðd and Executrix of Thomas Cowling, deceased, and John Linley, or their Assignes or vndertenents, doe within sixe daies after noetice to them or any of them given, take a Lease in writeinge of the Farme and Lands in their possession and given to pious vses, and according to the purporte of the said perte recited order that then a declaration in eiectm't be delivered vnto the tenants in possession for the tryall of the title and gaineing of the actuall possession thereof.

p' Cur'.

Whereas it hath appeared vnto this Court that Thomas Cowleing, late of Woodhouse, dec'd, did by his last will and testament (amongst other things) device vnto Thomas Atkinson, his nephew, the goodwill, interest, and tenant right of, in and to the farme belonging vnto the free schoole in Leedes, to enter vnto the same imediately after the decease of Alice his wife, and alsoe did give vnto him the Interest into that house

wherein Robert Linley now dwelleth, to enter vnto the same, and the Rents and pfitts thereof; to take and receave from the first half yeare after the decease of the said Thomas Cowleing, he the said Thomas Atkinson payeing therefore yearely vnto the said Alice the rent of fifteene shillings at twoe severall feastes as by the said will, relaçon being therevnto had, appeareth. This Court haveing respect to the desire of the said Thomas Cowleing expressed in his last will, and that the said landes may be enioyed according to the purporte thereof, doe order that the said Alice Cowleing shall have a Lease in writeing of the said Landes and tenem'ts for the terme of one and twentie yeares (if the said Alice live soe longe), vnder the yearely Rent of foureteene poundes six shillings and eight pence payable at the feastes of Pentecost and St. Martin, saveing the tenant right of the said farme, vnto the said Thomas Atkinson, And alsoe vnder this condicon that Nathaniel Booth, now Husband of the said Alice, shall vpon the execuçon of the Lease as afores'd, make vnto the said Thomas Atkinson one Lease of that house with the appurtenances wherein the said Roßt Linley now dwelleth, under the yearely rent of twenty shillings payable vnto the said Nathaniel and Alice at the feastes aforesaid, he the said Nathaniel paying the Arreares due vnto the said Thomas being twenty shillings by the yeare since the same became due vnto him.

p' Cur'.

At this Court It is ordered that John Killingbecke, gent', John Simpson, gent', and Samuel Brogden, gent', doe advise of surrenders to be past of certaine copy hold landes given to charitable vses, and that they see the same duely executed and make a retorne thereof to the next Court to be holden by the Comittee.

p' Cur'.

At this Court John Smith, gent', was in due forme of Lawe elected and chosen Vsher of the free Graſſer Schoole of Leedes.

p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'tee appointed by Decree for the execucon of Charitable vses the twenty first day of March In the twentieth yeare of the Raigne of King Charles the second.

At this Court did appeare Marmad' Cooke, viccar, Will'am Marshall, Henry Skelton, Daniel Foxcroft, Marmad' Hicke, Cristofer Watkinson, Godfrey Lawson, Will'am Curtice, George Banister, John Killingbeck, John Simpson, the rest made default.

Att this Court Will'am Stables, gent', was in due forme of Lawe elected and chozen feoffe of the Lands given to Charitable vses in the place of Michaell Hutchinson, dec'd.

p. Cur'.

At this Court it is ordered [that] Willm Marshall, Daniel Foxcroft, Godfrey Lawson, and Willm Stable, gent', doe for the yeare ensuing collect, receave, and take all the rents growing due and payeable for the Lands given vnto Charitable vses, and give acquittances for the same, and also yeild a iust account thereof when lawfully required.

p. Cur.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'itee appointed by Decree for the Execuçon of Charitabbie vses the fourteenth day of Aprill In the one and Twentieth yeare of the Raigne of King Charles the second.

At this Court did appeare Marmaducke Cooke, Viccar of Leedes, Christofer Watkinson, maior, Benjamin Wade, William Marshall, Henry

Skelton, William Curtis, Daniell Foxcroft, Marmaduke Hicke, Godfrey Lawson, John Killingbecke, Robert Rosse, George Banister, John Simpson, and William Stables.

At this Court Marmaduke Hicke, John Simpson, John Killingbecke, and William Curtis, gent', were appointed to receave the rente due for the Lande giuen vnto Charitable vses for the yeare ensueing, and to giue receipte for the same. p' Cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that a Lease be made vnto Henry N[orth] for one and Twenty yeares for North Farme in Beeston, and to pay tenn pounds for the said North Farme payable at Midsumer and Christmas, and seauen pounds for arreares of rent for the said North Farme, and to finde security for the said sume, the one halfe thereof to bee paid att Midsumer & the other halfe Christmas next. p' Cur'.

At this Court it is ordered that upon payment of Eight pounde by Samuel Sykes, marchant, which is for arrears of rent for certaine Landes given to charitable vses, hee bee abat[ed] of the rent reserved for the s'd Land forty shillings yearlie dureing the terme yett to come & vnexpired. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com^{tee} appoynted by decree for the Execucon of charitable vses the one & thirtieth day of December in the one & twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord King Charles the second.

Att this Court did appeare Godfrey Lawson, maior, Marmaduke Cooke, Viccar, Henry Skelton, Marmaduke Hick, Edward Atkinson, Cristofer Watkinson, John Killingbeck, John Sympson, Geo: Banister, the rest made default.

Att this Court Tymothy Bentley was in due forme of Law elected Vsher of the Free Grammer Schoole in Leedes, there to continue and exercise his faculty vntil for causes reasonable hee shalbe ousted by the Feoffees or the maior p'te of them, the said Tymothy Bentley before his admittance to the said offices first subscribeing to [such] writeing or Instrument as shalbe p'pared by the Feoffees in that behalfe. by the Court.

Att this Court the rente of certaine lande given to pious vses were apporconed & settled vpon the respective tenants as followeth, to witt.

[In the margin] These are the standing Rente besides the Fines they pay vpon the Leases for 21 years :

	li	s
Mr. Richard Armitage, for his houses in the headrow	iiij	x
Wilm Taylor	ij	viiij
Thomas Staveley	ij	viiij
Henry Crosfeild	j	iiij
The heirs of Francis Metcalfe	j	j
Joseph Fountance	j	x
Christ. Casson	o	xij
Tho : Parkinson	j	xvj
John Wadsworth	j	iiij
Marmaduke Dixon	j	xij
Robt. Speight & Arthur Roome	oo	17

Wherevpon it is ordered that Robte Hurst doe give notice vnto the respective tenante of such apporconment, and that hee soñon them to

appeare att the Court to beholden by the said feoffees on Fryday the foureteenth day of January next, by one of the clock in the afternoone, there to pay their respective yearlie rente, and alsoe their pportions of the Fyne to the Lorde of the Mannor (the same not exceeding one yeare and an halfe value) to take leases accordingly ; And vpon refusall made by any of them It is further ordered that Mr. Samuel Brogden doe deliver declaracons in Eiectm't [from] the Lande in the possession of the pson or psons soe refuseing. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ttee appoynted by decree for the Execucon of charitable vses the third day of August, the twoe & twentieth yeare of the raigne of our sou'aigne Lorde King Charles the second.

Att this Court did appeare Marmaduke Cooke, viccar of Leedes, Godfrey Lawson, maior, Beniamyn Wade, Marmaduke Hick, Edward Atkinson, John Killingbeck, George Banister & John Sympson, gent', the rest of the Feoffees made default.

Att this Court Thomas Dixon, one of the Aldermen of this Burrough, was duely elected one of the Feoffees to manage the charitable vse in the steed & place of Wiłm Stables, gent' (late one of the Feoffees), deceased.

For the more effectuall Execucon of the pious vse, and to the'nd the respective tenants may conforme to such moderate Improvem't as is p'ticularly apportioned & sett vpon them, Marmaduke Hick, Edward Atkinson, Thomas Dixon, Esq^{rs}, & John Killingbeck, gent' (foure of the feoffees), are appointed by the Court maturely to advise what meanes or legall methods must bee p'secuted for the bringing of the tenant or tenants (refuseing) to obedience ; and in p'ticuler to consider of what Evidences, Court Rolls, or other writeings may be fitly vsed in the management of the aãcon already brought ag't Wiłm Taylor, and what the said feoffees shall doe herein, this Court will ratifie, confirme & allow as the act of the whole. p' Cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that Alderman Hick, p'sent Treasurer of the feoffees, doe pay vnto Mr. Samuel Brogden the moneys already expended and layd out in the suit ag't Wiłm Taylor & to take his receipt for the same, which shalbe allowed vpon his account. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. At the Court holden by the Com'ttee appoynted by decree for the Execucon of Charitable vses the thirteenth day of March in the three and twentieth year of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles the second.

At this Court did appeare Marmaducke Cooke, viccar, Marmaducke Hicke, Edward Atkinson, Godfrey Lawson, Thomas Dixon, Cristofer Watkinson, John Killingbeck & George Banister.

At this Court William Hutchinson, Esq^r, one of Aldermen of this Burrough, was in due forme of Law elected and chosen one of the Feoffees for the management of the pious vses in roome & place of John Simpson, gen', deceased. p' Cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that five & twenty pounce bee taken vpp for the managem't of the suite ag't Mr. Armitage & Wm : Taylor. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. Att the Court holden by the Com'ttee appointed by decree for the Execucon of charitable vses the seaventh day of Aprill in the three & twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord King Charles the second.

Att this Court did appeare Marmaduke Cooke, viccar, Wiłm Marshall, Marmaduke Hick, Edward Atkinson, Henry Skelton, Cristofer Watkinson, Godfrey Lawson, Thomas Dixon, Wiłm Curtis, John Killingbeck & George Banister, gent', the rest made default.

Att this Court, Thomas Staveley, tenant to a certaine messuage with the appurtena'ce in the Headrow desired of the Com'ttee to bee admitted tenant therevnto vnder a certaine Fine & yearlie rent ; wherevpon it was agreed that the said Thomas Staveley should have a Lease thereof by Coppy of Court Roll for the term of one & twenty yeares to comēce att the feast of Pentecost next, hee the s'd Thomas Staveley payeing vnto the Feoffees as a Fine the sume of Eight pounde, and rendering yearly to the vse of the repacon of the highwayes the rent of twoe pounde eight shillings at the Feast of Penticost & Martinmas by equall porcons, the first payem't to bee made att Penticost next ; and alsoe rendering vnto the Lords of the Mannor a certaine Coppyhold rent, to which the said Thomas Staveley did then consent & agree.

The like agreem't was then had & made between the Com'ttee & Joseph Fountance for a certaine messuage, outhouses & barnes with the appurten'nce in the headrow, hee the sayd Joseph Fountance payeing as a Fine Five pounde tenn shillings and also rendering yearly the rent of one pound sixteen shillings att the same Feast, alsoe a Coppyhold Rent to the Lord of the Mannor.

The like agreem't was had & made betweene the Com'ttee & widd' Crosfeild (on the behalfe of her wife and children for the messuage, outhouses & barnes in the headrow (where shee now liveth), shee payeing as a Fyne the sume of four pounds tenn shillings, and also rendering yearly the rent of one pound tenn shillings, att the said feast, with a Coppyhold rent to the Lord of the Mannor.

Resolved, that if Richard Armitage, Esq', p'sent Maior of this Burrough, do release a certaine nonsuit obteyned in a certaine accon of trespass and eiectm't, wherein Wiłm Dvne is plt. ag't him the s'd Rich : Armitage, and all such costs as is or shalbe taxed in that behalfe, and alsoe doe pay vnto the Com'ttee as a Fyne the sume of twelve pounde and deliu' vpp a certaine surrender made in the 15th yeare of the late King James (of the house where hee now dwelleth), that then hee the sayd Richard Armitage shall have a Lease of the s'd house and of the house where John Wise now dwelleth, for the terme of one & twenty yeares, to comēce at Pentecost next, vnder the yearly rent of three pounde & tenn shillings, payable att Pentecost & Martinmas, the first payem't to bee made att Penticost next, but vpon his refusall of any p'te hereof, that then a declaracon bee deliu'ed vnto John Wise for the messuage or house in his possession.

p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Committee appoynted by decree for the Execucon of Charitable vses, the twenty sixth day of Aprill in the three and twentyeth yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereaigne Lord Kinge Charles the second.

At this Court did appeare Marmaduck Cooke, vicar, Marmaduck Hick, Edward Atkinson, Godfrey Lawson, Thomas Dixon, Wiłhm Hutchinson, John Killingbeck, and Robert Rosse, gent', the rest made default.

Att this Court Alderman Wade, Alderman Dixon, Alderman Hutchinson, and Robte Rosse, gent', are Elected & appointed to collect, receauē, and take all the Rentē groweing due and payable for the Landē given vnto charitable vses, and are impowered to give acquittances for the same ; and alsoe are to yeild vpp a iust account of all such sumes of money by them soe receaved when therevnto lawfully required. p' Cur'.

Att this Court John Ambgill, as trustee on the behalfe of the children of Francis Metcalfe, deceased, did appeare & desired on their behalfe to bee admitted to a certain messuage or dwelleing house in the headrow, vnder a certaine Fine and yearly rent, wherevpon it was agreed that the said John Ambgill, in trust as afores'd, shall have a Lease thereof by copy of Court Roll, for the terme of one & twenty yeares, to comence att the feast of Penticost next, hee the sayd John Ambgill payeing as a Fyne vnto the Feoffees Fifty shillings, and rendering yearly to the vse of the repaçon of the highwayes, the rent of Eighteene shillings att Pentecost & Martinmas by equall porçones, the first payem't to bee made att Penticost next, and alsoe rendering vnto the Lords of the Mannor a certain Copyhold rent, to which the sayd John Ambgill did then consent & agree.

The like agreem't was made by Thomas Parkinson for the house hee dwelleth in payeing as a Fyne forty shillings, & rendering yearly the sum of twoe & twenty shillings as a rent & a Coppyhold rent to the Lords of the Mannor.

The like agreem't was made by John Wadsworth for the house hee dwelleth in, payeing as a Fyne foure & twenty shillings & the yearly rent of seaventeen shillings.

The like agreem't was made by Marmaduke Dixon for the house hee dwelleth in, payeing as a Fyne tenn shillings & the yearly rent of three shillings sixe pence.

The like order for Adam Bell in trust for the children of Cristofer Casson, hee payeing three poundē as a Fine, and rendering as a rent tenn shillings yearly.

Att this Court it is ordered that the charges of the nonsuit between Donne & Armitage bee paid vnto the deft. p' Cur'.

Att this Court it is agreed that Marmaduke Hick, Cristofer Watkinson, Thomas Dixon & George Banister, gen', shalbecome bound vnto Marmaduke Cooke, clarke, in one bond or obligacon of the penall sumē of 100^l with Condiçon for the true payem't of Fifty pounds with interest for the same att or vpon the sixe & twentieth day of October next.

Att this Court it is ordered that a declaration in Eiectm't be deliu'ed vnto John Wise for the house hee dwellith in, vpon the demise of the Feoffees. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ittee appoynted by Decree for the Execuçon of Charritable vses, the first day of November in the three and twentieth yeare of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lord Kinge Charles the Second, Anno Dom' 1671.

At this Court did appeare Marmaduke Cooke, vicker, Thomas Dixon, maior, Marmaduke Hicke, Edward Atkinson, Cristofer Watkinson, Godfrey Lawson, Wiłm Hutchinson, Robert Rosse, and George Banister, the reste of the Feoffees made Default.

Whereas the Free schoole in Leedes is much ruinous & out of repayre, for the Rep'acon thereof, It is ordered that the surplusage of the Free-schoole Rents (over & above the standing salary of the Master & Usher) bee employed for & towardę the Rep'acon of the sayd schoole, and the p'sent Maior of this Burrough is desired to see this order executed.

p' Cur'.

For the p'servacon of the interest & tytle to certaine houses given to the rep'acon of the highwayes, and that the same may not bee lost, nor the p'fittę thereof misimployed for want of a legall & iust defence, It is ordered by the Court that the rentę reserved & payable for the sayd Landę, after the feast of St. Martin next, bee stayed in the Feoffees handę, & soe much thereof as shalbe necessary, bee imployed in the p'servacon of the sayd tytle & interest.

p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden By the Com'ttee appoynted by Decree for the Execucon of Charritable vses the fifteenth day of January In the three and twentieth yeare of the Raigne of o^r soveraigne Lord Charles the Second, Anno D'ni 1671.

At this Court did appeare Marmaducke Cooke, clarck, Thomas Dixon, major, Henry Skelton, Marmaduke Hicke, Edward Atkinson, William Hutchinson, Wiłm Curtiss, and John Killingbeck, the rest of the feoffees made default.

Att this Court the house where widd' Robertę now dwelleth is demised vnto her vnder the yearly rent of foure shillings, and the arreares of rent to bee suspended.

p. Cur'.

The like order for Widd' Beck for the house shee dwelleth in, vnder the yearly rent of foure & twenty shillings, and her arreares to bee suspended.

p' Cur.

The like rent for Richard Harrison vnder the yearly rent of thirteen shillings rent & twelve shillings arreares of rent.

p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ttee appointed by decree for the execucon of charitable vses the thirteenth day of May, 1672.

Att this Court did appeare Marmaduke Hick, Tho : Dixon, Wm. Marshall, Henr' Skelton, Edward Atkinson, Cristofer Watkinson, Godfrey Lawson, Wm. Hutchinson, Wm. Curtis, Geo. Banister.

Att this Court Wiłm Lumley did agree with the Com'ttee for the shopp late in the tenure of Phineas Lambe, vpon payem't of 15^l as a fyne, and the ancient rent, soe as the sayd Wiłm Lumley doe not imploy the same as a Butcher in selleing of Flesh or Fish.

p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ttee appoynted by decree for the Execucon of Charritable vses the Nyne and twentieth day of July In the four and twentieth yeare of the raigne of o^r Soveraigne Lord Kinge Charles the second, Anno Dni 1672.

Att this Court did appear Marmaduck Cooke, clarke, Thomas Dixon, maior, William Marshall, Daniel Foxcroft, Marmaducke Hicke, Edward

Atkinson, Christofer Watkinson, Godfrey Lawson, John Killingebeck, and George Banister, the rest of y^e Feoffees made default.

Att this Court Alderman Wiłlm Busfeild was in due forme of Law elected one of this Com'ttee in the place and stead of Alderman Wade, deceased, of which his Eleccon the said Mr. Busfeild is to take notice, and to keepe his roome and place att eu'y Court, accordeing to som'ones and warneing to him given. p' Cur'.

John Thorsby, beeinge the survivinge Feoffee, having this p'sent day by the hands of Ralph Spencer, marchant, paid vnto this Com'ttee the sume of one hundred fifty six pounds, accordinge to the purport of a certaine deede Tripartite, the increase thereof for ever to be employed and disposed to the vse of the poore and for their releife, and the inheritance and revercon of the lands and p'misses in the said deeds menconed beeinge legally vested in the said Ralph Spencer and his heires. It is ordered by this Court that the said Deede bee deliued vpp vnto the said Ralph Spencer, and that the lands and p'misses in the said Deede menconed, from the payment of the said one hundred and fifty pounds or any increase or intrest for the same bee from henceforth for ever acquitted and discharged. p' Cur'.

Whereas Mansfeild Hasle, by a certaine Indenture triptite made the eight day January In the yeare of o^r Lord 1657, for the consideracon of one hundred and fifty pounds, did grant, bargaine, and sell vnto Francis Allason and John Thorsby the yonger, their heires and assignes for ever, all that parcell of land, meadow, or pasture, com'only called or knowne by the name of Dovebridge Close, or by the names of neare Ing, Farringe, and the paddock, wth the appurtenances, within the towneshipp of Hunslett, vpon condicon that if the said Mansfeild Hasle, his heires or assignes, should vpon any eleventh day of November, duringe fourty yeares next aft^r the date of the said Indenture, pay vnto the said Francis Allenson and John Thorsby the sum of 159*l*. that the said Indenture to bee voyd, in which Indenture the said Francis Allinson and John Thorsby, the trust and confidence in them reposed, and doe covenant, p'mise, and grant [*sic*] to and with Francis Allinson the eldest and the rest of the then Com'ttee for pyous vses, that they will from tyme to tyme imploy and expend all and every the sume or somes of money to bee rec'd by vertue of the said Indenture to the vse and benefitt of the poore of the pish of Leedes, in such manner as from tyme to tyme should bee agreed vpon by the then Cheife Magistrate and others, and in case they were dissolved then in such manner as the then Com'ttee should agree and declare as by the said in parte recited deede, relacon beeinge therevnto had, appeareth, and allsoe whereas the said Corporacon is desolved and by decree in Chancery grounded vpon the Statute of Charitable vses, (amongst other things) a certaine numb^r of persons are appoynted as a Com'ttee for ye well managem't of Charritable vses (this Court much indeavouringe) that noe pious guift bee misimployed or non imployed, hath taken notice of the guift above menconed, and hereby doth acknowledge to haue had and received from the hands of the said John Thorsby, beeinge the survivinge Feoffee, the said sume of 150*l*. [*sic*], and of which said sume, as much as in them lyeth, doth hereby acquitt and discharge the said

John Thorsby, his heires, executors, and adm'rs, and doe further declare that the vse and increase of the said 150*l.* for ever hereafter bee expended, imployed, and bestowed for and towards the vse, releife, and benefitt of the poore of the p'ish of Leeds. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ttee appoynted By decree for the execucon of Charritable vses the thirteenth day of June in the five & twentieth yeare of the Raigne of o^r Soveraigne Lord King Charles the second.

At this Court did appeare William Hutchinson, maior, Marmaduck Cooke, viccar, Marmaduck Hicke, Edward Atkinson, Thomas Dixon, William Busfeild, William Curtiss, and John Killingbeck, the Rest of the Feoffees made default.

At this Court Alderman Martine Headley was in due forme of Law elected and chosen one of the Com'ittee in the roome and place of Alderman Marshall, deceased, of which his eleçon the said Mr. Headley is to take notice, and to keepe his roome and place at every Court according to somons and warninge to him given. p' Cur'.

At this Court Joseph Ibbetson, gent., was in like manner ellected and chosen one of this Com'ittee in the roome and place of Robert Rosse, gent', deceased, of which his elecçon the said Mr. Ibbetson is to take notice, and to keepe his roome and place at every Court according to the Sumons and warning to him given. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ittee appoynted bee decree for the execucon of charritable vses the Nyneteenth day of September In the Five and twentieth yeare of the Raigne of o^r Soveraigne Lord King Charles the second.

At this Court did appear Marmaduck Cooke, viccar, W^m Hutchinson, maior, Edward Atkinson, Godfrey Lawson, William Busfeild, Martine Headley, George Banister, and Joseph Ibbetson, the rest of Feoffees made default.

Att this Court Robert Kettlewell, gen', is allowed and approved to keepe a writeing school in the Schoole att Leedes bridge end ; hee first entering into a bond or obligacon vnto the Maior of this Burrough of the penall sume of one hundred pounde of lawfull English money, with condiçon for his deliu'ing upp of the sayd schoole if the Maior p'te of the Feoffees see sufficient cause for his removall, or other misdemeano^r by him to bee comitted. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by y^e Comittee appoynted bee decree for y^e exicucon of Charitable vses the twenty second day of Aprill in the sixe & twentieth yeare of y^e Raigne of our soveraigne Lord King Charles the second.

Att this Court did appeare Marmaduck Cooke, viccar, Wiłm Busfeild, major, Marmaduck Hick, Edward Atkinson, Thomas Dixon, Martin Headley, George Banister, and Joseph Ibbetson, the rest of the Feoffees made default.

Att this Court it is ordered yt Wiłm Busfeild, major, Henry Skelton, Martin Headley, and Joseph Ibbetson, gent., bee collectors of the rents due to Charitable vses for y^e yeare ensueing.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ttee appointed by decree for Execucon of charitable vses the first day of June in the sixe & twentieth yeare of the Raigne of our sou'aigne Lord King Charles the second.

Whereas Michael Gilbert^e, clarke, Maister of the Free Grammer schoole in Leedes, hath entred into twoe seu'all bonde^e condiçoned for the payem't of one & twenty pounde fouer shillinges a peece, and also for the payem't of twenty pounde yearly vnto an Usher, and to keepe in sufficient repayre the sayd schoole & walles ; Neu'theles this Court doth declare & soe doe order, that in case the sayd Mr. Gilbert^e doe dye or bee Removed from the s'd Free schoole, that then hee shall only pay p'porconable to the tyme hee shall continue ; and not otherwise, that is to say, tenn pounde out of eu'y halfe yeares rent that hee shall receave besides, and wee doe hereby authorize and impowre the s'd Mr. Gilbert^e to receave & take the rent^e, issues, & p'fitt^e groweing due & payable for the houses & land^e given to the Freeschoole, with the arrearages thereof, and the same to detayne & keepe to his owne vses ; this order to continue for three yeares next coming.

p' Cur.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ttee appointed by decree for the Execucon of charitable vses this eighteenth day of December in the sixe & twentieth yeare of the Raigne of our sou'aigne Lord King Charles the second.

Att this Court did appeare Marmaduke Cooke, viccar, Marmaduke Hick, Edward Atkinson, Godfrey Lawson, Henry Skelton, Thomas Dixon, John Killingbeck, Martin Headley, & George Banister, gent., the rest made default.

Att this Court it is ordered that Mrs. Armitage, widd' and relict of Richard Armitage, gent', dec'd, vpon payement of the arreares of rent due for the houses in Leedes Headrow, which her husband held of the pious vse ; and twelve pounds as a Fyne or fore guift form'ly assessed ; and vpon payem't of the yearly rent of three pounde tenn shillings, and repayment of the five pounds form'ly by him rec'd vpon a nonsuite in Eiectm't ag't Wiłm Dvnn, and also vpon payem't of Five and twenty pounds remayneing in his handes of the pious guift of John Casson, late of Leedes, gent', dec'd, that a Lease bee made vnto her of the sayd houses and p'misses, To have for the terme of one and twenty yeares, shee covenanteing to keepe and leave the same in good and sufficient repayre.

p' Cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that if any member of this Com'ttee shall contract with any sufficient p'son for the Lease of the dwelleing house with the appurten'nce in the Headrowe where Wiłm Taylor the younger lately inhabited, for eighty pounde fyne att the least, and vnder the yearely rent of Fourty eight shillings, for the terme of one and twenty yeares, and after the expiracon thereof for the terme of twenty yeares, that then this Court (vpon notice of such agreem't given to Marmaduke Cooke, Viccar of Leedes) will ratifie & confirme the same by such wayes & meanes as shalbe advised ; vnder these covenant^e & condicons followeing (that is to say), that the p'son soe becomeing tenant, shall manage, execute, and defend all suite or accons that shalbe comenced, p'secuted, or brought for toucheing or concerneing the said houses (either att Coñon Law or any other of his Ma'ties Court^e att Westm') att his owne p'per costs and charges, and shall indempnifie the said Feoffees from all charges in that behalfe, And dureing the said terme shall keepe the said houses in tenantable repayre, and att the end thereof shall leave the said houses in

tenantable repayre, In Consideracon whereof and vpon payem't of the fine and rent agreed vpon, and pformance of the covenants of the tenant p'te to bee pformed, hee shall peaceably and quietly enioye the said houses during the sayd terme. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com^{tee} appoynted by decree for the execucon of Charitable Vses this Twenty nyneth day of January in the Sixe and Twentieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord Charles the Second.

Att this Court did appeare Marmaduke Cooke, Viccar, Marmaduke Hick, Edward Atkinson, C'rus Watkinson, Thomas Dixon, William Hutchinson, Wm. Busfeild, Martin Headley, and Joseph Ibbitson, the rest made defalt.

Att this Court it is ordered that Thomas Hardwick for the future doe pay the sume of one shilling eight pence eu'y halfe yeare for the fee farme rent, and the same to bee allowed in his rents of the Common Hall in Leedes, and in the meane tyme to allow him out of the next halfe yeares rent sixteen shillings, which was paid to Mr. Headley. p' Cur'.

[BURGUS DE LEEDES.] The Court holden by the Com^{tee} appointed by decree for execucon of charritable vses this Twentie Second day of October in the Seaven & twentieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord Charles the second.

Att this Court did appeare Martin Headley, maior, Marmaduke Cooke, viccar, Marmaduke Hicke, Edward Atkinson, Godfrey Lawson, Thomas Dixon, John Killingbeck, and George Banister, gent', the rest made default.

Att this Court it is ordered that Alderman Hutchinson and Mr. Michael Gilbert doe pay vnto Mr. Samuel Brogdon for two yeares salary as Clarke to this Com'ttee foure pounds (to witt), Alderman Hutchinson forth of the Highway rents fourty shillings, and Mr. Gilbert other fourty shillings, and to take his receipt for the same. p. Cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that Alder: Hutchinson doe pay vnto James Ash out of the rents for the Highwayes payable att Martinmas next tenn pounde, and to take his receipt for the same, and that the agreement made in the tyme of John Dawson, maior of the Burrough of Leedes, with the sayd James Ash, toucheing the rep'acon of the Highwayes bee from henceforth voyd, any former order to the contrary notwithstanding. p. Cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that Henry Robinson doe pay vnto Michael Gilbert, clarke, the sume of tenn shillings, being arreares of rent for the house hee dwelleth in holden of the pious vse, and that for the future hee pay the yearly rent of sixe pence. p' Cur'.

Att this Court it is conceived & soe ordered that the occupieres of Cowleing and Linleyes landes holden of the pious use, shall pay their pportion of the arreares of the *modus decimandi*, and that Alderman Sykes doe make the like paym't for the lande that hee holdeth from the tyme of his entry, & Mr. Michael Gilb'ts the residue of the sayd arreares. p' Cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that vpon payem't of tenn pounds by the p'sent Maior, that a Lease bee made of the house in the Headrow where

Willm Taylor, dec'd, lately dwelt, vnto Anne Taylor, his widd', to have for the terme of one and twenty yeares vnder the improved rent, and after the expiracon of the s'd terme, then to hold the same vnto the Maior of Leedes for the terme of one and twenty yeares from thence next ensueing, vnder the same yearly rent, with cov'ent^e for sufficient rep'acons on his p'te, and covenant for quiet inioyem't on the feoffees p'te.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ttee appointed by decree for the execucon of charitable vses the eighteenth day of September in the eight and twentieth yeare of the Raigne of our sou'aigne Lord King Charles the second, 1678.

Att this Court did appeare Marmaduke Cooke, viccar of the p'ish Church of Leedes, Henry Skelton, Marmaduke Hick, Godfrey Lawson, Thomas Dixon, Willm Hutchinson, John Killingbeck, George Banister, and Joseph Ibbitson, the rest made default.

Att this Court it is ordered that the p'sent surveyors of the Highwayes in Leedes doe vpon notice hereof pay vnto Alderman Willm Hutchinson the sume of sixe pound^e, form'ly by him deposited and layd out for and toward^e the rep'acon of the Highwayes, and to take his receipt for the same, which shalbe allowed vpon their account, and Robert Hurst, officer to this Com'ttee, is appointed to execute this order. p' Cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that Henry Skelton, Martin Headley, and Joseph Ibbitson, gen', or any twoe of them, receave the rent^e due and payable to charitable vses within this Burrough accordeing to a former order made att a Court holden the twenty second day of Aprill in the sixe and twentieth yeare of his now Ma'ties Raigne ; an order made the first day of June in the same yeare impowreing Michael Gilbert^e, clarke, to receave the same notwithstanding, and Robert Hurst, officer to this Com'ttee, is ordered to give notice to the tenant^e of this order. p' Cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that Martin Headley, Maior of the Burrough of Leedes, doe vpon receipt hereof pay vnto Marmaduke Cooke, viccar there, the sume of tenn pound^e, being pcell of the fiftie pounds due to him from this Com'ttee, and that the fourty pound^e residue bee paid or secured to bee paid att the next Court holden by this Com'ttee. p' Cur'.

Att this Court (in pursuance of a decree made in the high & hono'ble Court of Chancery) Anthony Wade, Ald' Charles Mann & Joseph Balmer, gent', were duely elected members of this Com'ttee, wherevpon it is ordered that Ro^tte Hirst doe give them notice of such their Eleccon, and that they keepe their roome & place att eu'y Court to beholden by the sayd Com'ttee, haveing noe reasonable cause or excuse to the contrary. p' Cur'.

Att this Court John Moore, gent., is allowed and approved to keepe a writeing Schoole, in the Schoole att Leeds Bridge End ; hee first entering into one bond or obliga^{co}n vnto y^e major of this Burrough of the penall sume of one hundred pounds of Lawfull English money, with condicon for his deliu'ing upp of the said Schoole if the major p'te of y^e feoffees see sufficient cause for his removeall or other misdemeanors by him to be comitted. p' Cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that Mrs. Armitage, widd' & relict of Richard Armitage, gent., dec'd, vpon the consideracon of twenty pound^e to bee

paid by five pounds yearly, and vnder the yearely rent of three pounds & tenn shillings to bee paid att Pentecost & Martinmas shall have a lease by surrender of the messuages, houses, or tenem'ts in the headrowe in Leedes belonging the sayd Mr. Armitage, lately deceased, with condicon that the sayd surrender shalbe voyd vpon default of paym't of any of the sayd five pounds, the lease to bee for the terme of one & twenty yeares, according to an order made the eighteenth day of December in the sixe & twentieth yeare of his now Ma'tie's Raigne. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ttee appointed by decree for the execucon of Charitable vses the Thirtieth day of October in the eight & twentieth year of y^e raigne of our sou'aigne Lord King Charles the second.

Att this Court did appeare Marmaduke Cooke, viccar, Antony Wade, Major, Daniel Foxcroft, Henry Skelton, Marma : Hicke, Godfrey Lawson, Thomas Dixon, William Hutchinson, John Killingbeck, Charles Mann, Joseph Ibbitson, & George Banister, the rest made default.

Att this Court (in pursuance of a decree made in the high & hono'ble Court of Chancery) William Pickering, Ald : was duely elected one of the members of this Com'ttee in the Roome & place of Mr. William Curris, deced., wherevpon it is ordered that Robert Hurst doe give him notice of such his elecon, and that hee keepe his roome and place att eu'y Court to bee holden by the said Com'ttee, haveing noe reasonable cause or excuse to the contrary. p' Cur'.

Att this Court Mr. Joseph Kay was in due forme of Law elected Usher of the free Grammer Schoole in Leedes, there to continue & exercise his faculty untill for causes reasonable hee shalbe ousted by y^e feoffes or the major p'te of them, the said Joseph Kay before his admittance to y^e said office first subscribeing such writeing or Instrument as shalbe p'pared by the feoffes in yt behalfe. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ttee appointed by decree for the execucon of Charitable vses the seaventeenth day of April in the nyne & twentieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord King Charles the second.

Att this Court did appeare Antony Waide, maior, Marmaduke Cooke, viccar, Marmaduke Hicke, Godfrey Lawson, Thomas Dixon, William Hutchinson, Martin Headley, Joseph Ibbitson, William Pickering, Joseph Balmer & George Banister, the rest made default.

Att this Court it is ordered y't Anthony Waide, maior, William Pickering, Joseph Bawmer & Charles Mann doe collect y^e rents of the Charitable vses for the yeare ensueing, and to bee accountable for the same to the rest of Com'ttee. p' Cur'.

Att this Court Ald'man Lawson were appointed Receiver of the Highway Rents for the yeare ensueing and till further order. p' Cur'.

Whereas there was of late a necessity to renew the names of the feoffees of the Coppyhold lands, tenem'ts, and hereditaments given to charitable vses w'thin Leedes, a fine and composicon of fourty five pounds was made w'th the Lords of the Manno^r for the doing thereof, which wee thought meete should be raised from y^e Tenn'ts of those Coppyholds, but William Taylor, a tennant to a coppyhold Messuage w'th thappurten'nces in the

Headrow belonging to the Highwayes, denied the Tenure, and challenged that Messuage as his freehold inheritance, and would not submitt, therefore suits did arise both att Law and in Equity which did cost this Com'ttee nere an hundred and fifty pounds on their parte before possession was recov'ed & the business settled ; and forasmuch as Mr. Headley, one of this Com'ttee, was Attorney and Sollicitor on our behalves, and did expend & lay out in the managem't of those suits att least eighty pounds, wee have thought & doe thinke it very fitt that the fines to bee laid on that house for a Terme of one and forty yeares should beare that charge, and therefore have assigned and ordered a Terme of one & fourty yeares may be granted by the feoffees of this charitable guift to the said Mr. Headley, his executors, adm'rs, or assignes, or to such p'sons as hee shall appoint, hee payeing to vs further towards y^e reimburseing of the other charges by vs disbursed in those suits the sume of Tenn pounds, which p'fer & agreem't the said Mr. Headley hath accepted of in satisfaccon of his debt due to him as abovesaid, and hath now alsoe paid vnto vs the further sume of Tenn pounds agreed vpon, which wee acknowledge to have now received, and doe hereby, in consideraçon thereof and for the reasons aforesaid, confirme vnto him the aforesaid terme, though not vsuall soe to doe ; The yearly rent of forty eight shillings is reserved to the pious vse, there is a terme of one & twenty yeares p'te of the one & fourty yeares already granted to Widdow Taylor & now comd to James Jefferson's hands.

p' Cur'.

Bee it remembred that Marmaduke Cooke hath received fourty pounds of Mr. Gilberts & Tenn pounds of Ald'rman Headley in full of a Bond entred by Ald'rman Hicke, Ald'rman Watkinson, Ald'rman Dixon, and George Banister, which fifty pounds was borrowed of the said Mr. Cooke for the manageing of the suite between the Com'ttee & one William Taylor.

p' Cur'.

This Court hath considered of the disbursem^{ts} of Ald'rman Hutchinson, and doe allow y^e account, and order y^e ballance, being two pound eight shillings nyne pence, to bee paid to Mr. George Banister in p'te of what hee hath laid out about y^e Highwayes.

p' Cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that Mrs. Armitage have foure & twenty sh[illings] and sixe pence paid vnto her by the Receiver of the Bridge money, the next money that is paid in.

p' Cur'.

[BURGUS DE LEEDES.] The Court holden by the Com'ttee appointed by decree for y^e execuçon of the charritable vses the eight day of January, Anno D'ni 1677.

Att this Court did appear John Killingbecke, maior, Marmaduke Hicke, Thomas Dixon, Wiłm Hutchinson, Martin Headley, Wiłm Pickering, Joseph Ibbitson, Joseph Bawmer, George Bannister & Charles Mann, the rest made default.

Whereas att a Cor^t holden the nyne & twentyeth day of January, in y^e seaventeenth yeare of his now Ma^{ties} Raigne, It is ordered that forty shillings bee paid yearly vnto Samuell Brogdon, gent., for the officiateing as Clarke to the said pious vses, and alsoe whereas by an order made the first day of June in the sixe & twentieth yeare of his now Ma^{ties} Raigne, Michaell Gilbert, M^r of the free Grammar Schoole, was authorised to receive

the rents & profitts groweing due & payable to the s'd schoole yet hath not payd his p'te & porcon of the said yearly allowances. It is ordered therevpon that the said Mr. Gilbert doe forthwith pay vnto Samuell Brogden three pounds & tenn shillings, being for three yeares and a half, and to take his receipt for the same. p' Cur'.

Att this Co'rt Joseph Pickles, gent., is allowed & approved to keepe a writeing schoole in y^e school att Leedes bridge end, he first entring into one bond or obligacon vnto the Viccar of the p'ish Church of Leedes of the penall sume of 100 pounds of lawfull English money, with condicon for his delivering upp of the s'd schoole if the maior p'te of the feoffees see sufficient cause for his removeall or other misdemeanor by him to be committed. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ttee appointed by decree for y^e Execucon of Charitable vses y^e first day of March in y^e Thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord King Charles the Second.

Att this Court did appeare John Millner, viccar, John Killingbeck, maior, Henry Skelton, Daniel Foxcroft, Marmaduke Hicke, Godfrey Lawson, Thomas Dixon, Martin Headley, William Pickering, Joseph Ibbetson & George Banister, gent., y^e rest made default.

Att this Coart S' Keene, batchlor of Arts of Jesus Colledge in Camebridge, was in due forme of Law, elected Vsher of the Free Grammer Schoole of Leedes, there to continue & exercise his Faculty untill for causes reasonable hee shalbe ousted by the Feoffees, or the maior p'te of them, the said S' Keene before his admittance to the said office, first subscribeing such writeing or Instrument as shalbe p'pared by the Feoffees in y^t behalfe. p' Cur'.

Att this Court itt is ordered yt Joseph Kay, late Vsher of the free Grammer Schoole in Leedes, have one Quarter's sallary paid vnto him by Mr. Gilberts for officiateing as Vsher in y^e said Schoole. p' Cur'.

Upon debate, had att this Court, touching the payem^t of sixe pounds due to Mr. Samuel Brogdon for the officiateing as Clarke to the said pious vses, It is therevpon ordered yt Alderman Lawson doe pay the sume of 4^l as Receiver of the Rents for the Highway Land, & take his receipt for the same, & y^t Mr. Gilberts pay the other fourty shillings and take his receipt for the same. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Com'ttee appointed by decree for the Execucon of charitable vses the Twelfth day of May in the one and Thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord King Charles the Second.

Att this Court did appeare John Millner, viccar, William Pickering, maior, Marmaduke Hicke, Godfrey Lawson, Thomas Dixon, William Hutchinson, John Killingbecke & George Banister, sen^r, the rest made default.

Att this Court it is ordered that the p'sent Maior, Ald^rman Hicke, & Ald^rman Dixon, or any Two of them, doe speake with Mrs. Leake about the 100^l given by Mr. Druell to the poore of Leedes. p' cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that Ald^rman Dixon and George Banister, theld^r, doe receive and take all the rents growing due & payable for the

Lands given vnto Charitable vses for this yeare ensueing, and doe give acquittances for the same ; and likewise pay the seu'all sumes to the p'sons hereafter named (to wit) foure pounds to Mr. George Banister jun^r, five pounds foure shillings to James Ash, of which he is to receive, vpon the ballance of Ald^rman Lawson acc^t, two pound five shillings, one pound to Ald^rman Hutchinson, one pound to Ald^rman Bawmer, one pound to Ald : Waide, one pound to Ald : Killingbeck, one pound to Ald : Sykes, three pound to Ald : Dixon, and three pound to James Netherwood ; and also yeild a just acc^t thereof when they shall bee therevnto required.

p' cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that three pounds bee allowed out of the Highway Rents towards the makeing of seu'all Bye stands in the Highway leading to Beeston.

p' Cur'.

Att this Court, the account of Ald^rman Lawson, as Receiver of the Highway Rents, was p'vsed and allowed and ordered to bee entred.

p' Cur'.

Ordered that Ald^rman Dixon and Mr. George Banister doe view a dwelling house belonging to the pious vse, which Ald^rman Hicke is to take a Lease of for one & Twenty yeares, paying three pounds a yeare, and of their p'ceedings herein to make their retorne att the next Court to bee holden by the Com'ttee.

p' Cur'.

Whereas it is reported to this Com'ttee that Tenn pounds is left to the poore of the pish of Leedes out of North farme, If therefore the Inhabitants of Beeston doe make itt appeare y't that same was left to the poore of the whole pish that th[en] Beeston shall have their p'porcion.

p' Cur'.

Att this Court it is ordered that Robert Speight appeare att the next Court to bee holden by the Com'ttee to shew cause, if any he can, why he remaines in the dwelling house belonging to the pious vse, and Robert Hirst, officer to this Com'ttee, is ord[ered] to give notice to the said Robert Speight of this order.

p' Cur'.

Ordered that Robert Hirst doe give notice to Christofer Bradshay to appeare att the next Court to bee holden by the Com'ttee there to shew cause why hee ought not to torne Tenant vnto Richard Brayshay.

p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Court holden by the Comittee[e] appoynted by decree for the execucon of Charitable vses the thirteenth day of September in the two and thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord Charles the second, by the grace of God over England &c. King.

Att this Court did appeare John Milner, Vicar, Joseph Bawmer, maior, Marmaduke Hick, Godfrey Lawson, William Hutchinson, John Killingbeck, William Pickering, and George Banister the elder, the rest made default.

Ordered that James Ash repay vnto Mr. George Banister the elder the some fifty one shillings and fower pence w^{ch} he received of Alderman Pickering for the makeing of seu'all by stande in Beeston Laine, wthin six weekes and vpon the receipt thereof the said Mr. Banister is to repay the same vnto the said Alderman Pickering.

p' Cur'.

Whereas it doth appeare by the account of George Beckett, late one of the Surveyors of the High Wayes wthin Leedes Towne, that hee hath Expended and laid out about the Repairs thereof over and above what hee hath received Tenn Pounds fifteen shillings and Ten pence, it is ordered

that Alderman Dixon and Mr Banister doe pay to the said Beckett what moneyes is in their hands belonging to the Highwayes ; and if the moneyes in their hands will not discharge the said Beckitt ; then to bee paid of the next Martinmas Rent, and after that paid then Mr. Maior and Mr. Lawson to be paid five pounds apeece out of the Highwayes rents by the said Alderman Dixon and Mr. Banister, or their suckcessers, as they shall come due, w^{ch} they have disburst towards the Repaire of the Highwayes. p' Cur'.

Ordered that Alderman Dixon, Alderman Headley, and Alderman Killingbeck doe p'vse the account of Mr. Samuel Brogden, deceased, and reporte the same to the next Com'ittee. p' Cur'.

Ordered that Alderman Hick pay to Mr. Ralph Spencer twenty shillings, being p'te of the fourty shillings w^{ch} he laid out about the building of the Chappell att the bridge end. p' Cur'.

Ordered that Mr. Banister pay vnto Robert Hirst tenn shillings out of the next Martinmas rent^e, being as a salary due to him for sumoning the Com'ittee w^{ch} is to be allowed him vpon his account^e. p' Cur'.

Ordered that Robert Speight appeare att the next Com'ittee to shew cause (if he have any) why the formes sett vpon the front belonging to the New Chappell att the bridge end should not be disposed of by the Com'ittee. p' Cur'.

Att this Co^{rt} (in pursuance of a decree made in the high and hono^{ble} Co^{rt} of Chancery) Gervas Nevile, Esq., was duely elected one of the members of this Com'ittee in the roome and place of Charles Mann, gent', wherevpon it is ordered that Robert Hurst doe give him notice of such his elecon, and that he kepe his roome and place att every Co^{rt} to be holden by the said Com'ittee, haveing noe reasonable cause or excuse to the contrary. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Co^{rt} holden by the Comitte' appointed by decree for the Execucon of Charitable Vses the Eighteenth day of Decem-ber in the two and thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord Charles the second, by the grace of God over England &c. King.

Att this Co^{rt} itt is Ordered that Robert Speight be p'mitted to sett and place formes and trustles vpon the front belonging to the Schole att the Bridge end during the pleasure of the Com'itte, he the said Robert Speight paying twelve shillings yearely (to witt), Thre shillings in the Quarter to Margret Casson, widow, and tenn shillings yearely (to witt), two shillings and sixpence in the Quarter to George Dixon, for soe long tyme as he shall enjoy the previledge, And itt is further Ordered that the said Robert Speight doe leave sufficient and convenient way and passage to the said Schoole, and that he doe not come wthin the Chamber to ring the bell, and all other p'sons are hereby enjoyned att their p'ills to forbear to sett or place formes or trustles vpon the said Front. p' Cur'.

Ordered that Mr. Banister's account be allowed and entred, w^{ch} followes in these worde (to witt)

The account of Rents received for the highway land^e by order of the Com'ittee for pious vses :

	£	s.	d.
for the year 1679	19	2	6
for the year 1680	21	12	6

40 - 15 - 0

Moneyes paid by the order of the Com'ittee for the pious vses for the repaires of the highwayes :

	£	s.	d.
To James Ash, for arreares owing him	2	19	0
To Ald ^r Thomas Dixon	1	03	6
To James Neatherwood	3	00	0
To James Ash, for makeing by stande in Beeston Laine	3	00	0
To Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Sykes, Mr. Killingbecke, Mr. Wade, and Mr. Bawmer, Ald ⁿ	5	00	0
To Mr. Hicke, for Mr. Spencer	1	00	0
To George Banister, Jun ^r	4	00	0
To George Beckett	2	10	0
To George Beckett more	10	15	8
To Alderman Lawson	5	00	0
To Robert Hurst	0	10	0
To Ald ^r Bawmer, in p'te of five pounds due to him w ^{ch} ballances this Account	1	16	10
	<hr/>		
	40	15	0

Ordered that Mr. Major be allowed twenty shillings out of the next Rents, which he paid to Mr. John Bayliffe about Pontefract Lane. p' Cur'.

The like order for Mr. Idle, for the some of seaventeene shillings, which he paid to Mr. Alderman Pickering by the order of the Com'ittee. p' Cur.

Att this Co^{rt} it is ordered that Mr. Alderman Waite, Mr. Alderman Bawmer, and Jarvas Nevile, Esq., doe collect and receive the rents of the lande given vnto Charitable Vses for the yeare ensueing, and yeild a just account thereof when therevnto requested. p' Cur'.

Whereas Michaell Idle, gent., now is and for seu'all yeares last past hath bene farmer of the Corne Toll of this Burrough of Leede, and hath hitherto payd the some of Tenne Pounde p Annum for the part and porcon of such Tolls as belong to the poore and Highwayes, w^{ch} in noe wise hee is willing longer to pay in respect he hath lost by them, as hee hath made evidently appeare, and therefore hath besought us that wthout considerable abatement may be had of the said Rent for and in respect of the duety of Corne Tolls, wee would discharge him of the said parte of the farme of Corne Tolles as belong to the poore and Highwayes, hee appearing and offering to surrender the same, wherevpon this Com'itte now Assembled, haveing taken the p'misses into our serious consideraçon, and finding by the settlement of Barron Savile that one third parte is to be imployed to and for the sweeping and keepeing cleanly of the place of the Corne Markett, and of repaireing and amending the Highwayes leading therevnto, doe thinke fitt and soe order and direct That an abatement be made of two pounde p Annum for the tyme to come, And that the said Michael Idle doe farme the said Poore and Highwayes part of the Tolles att the rent of Eight pounde p Ann', that is to say, fower pounde and tenn shillings yearely to the poore and three pounde tenn shillings yearely towarde the repaire of the highwayes, and doe likewise of his owne proper cost and charge take care for the dressing and cleansing of the Corne

Markett, And it is also ordered that if any suite shall arise about the takeing of the duety of Corne Toll that as well the said Michaell Idle's p'te as the seu'l two parts now lett him shall att an equall charge defend the same, to be allowed him in his said rent, And lastly itt is ordered that he be rated, taxed, or assessed noe higher towardē the poore or highwayes, for or in respect of the said farme of Corne Toll, dureing the residue of the terme in his Lease. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Co^{rt} holden by the Com'itte appointed by decree for the execucon of Charitable vses the Eighteenth day of November in the thre and thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord Charles the second, by the grace of God over England &c. King.

Att this Court did appeare John Milner, Vicar, Marmaduke Hick, Major, Godfrey Lawson, Thomas Dixon, William Hutchinson, Martin Headley, Anthony Waide, John Killingbeck, William Pickering, Joseph Bawmer, George Banister, gent., and Gervas Nevile, Esq', the rest made default.

Att this Court itt is ordered that Alice Barstoe, widdow, be admitted to a p'cell of wast grownd wth the appurten'nces lying and being in the March Layne in Leeds Mayne rideing, whereout two Cottages and one barne lately stood, w^{ch} was claymed by one John Beetham in the right of his wife, formerly Watson's Land, adjoyneing vpon the Landē of William Allanson on the East, and vpon one dwellinghouse in the possession of Thomas Pearson on the South, and vpon the Landē of the said Alice Barstoe on the west, she the said Alice Barstoe paying the yearely Rent of thre shilling to the Free Gra^mer Schoole of Leedes. p' Cur'.

Whereas the highway called Yorke Lane is much ruinous and in great decay, and that there is a p'sent necessity for the repaire thereof, It is therevpon ordered that the money remaineing in the handē of Mr. Alderman Bawmer and the Rents to be received this Martinmasse for the highway landē be employed and laid out for the repaire of the same, And it is further ordered that the front before the Vicarage be repaired by the Surveyors of the Highwayes. p' Cur'.

Vpon the Reporte of Mr. Dixon, Mr. Headley, and Mr. Killingbeck made to this Co^mittee touching the moneyes due to Mr. Brogden, It is ordered by this Co^{rt} that the some of six poundē and alsoe the some of thirty shillings for enrolling of the Advowson deed of the old Church be raised and paid out of the money given to Charitable Vses, and the some of twenty six shillings and eightpence laid downe and disbursed by Mr. Brogdon for alloweing the Charter of this Burrough is to be paid by some other meanes such as this Com'ittee shall adjudge convenient. p' Cur'.

Ordered that Robert Hurst give notice to the tenn'tē of Cicily Bolland, widdow, to forbear the payment of any Rent to the said widdow Bolland. p' Cur'.

Ordered that a letter be written to Mrs. Leake, in the name of the Co^mittee, to request hir posative answer about the payment of the hundred poundē left by Mr. Dreuell, hir father, to the poore of Leedē. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Co^{rt} holden by the Co^mittee appoynted by decree for the execucon of Charitable vses the second day of Aprill the six and thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord Charles the Second, by the grace of God over England &c. King, Annoq : Dⁿi 1684.

Att this Co^{rt} did appeare John Milner, vicar, William Rooke, major, George Banister, Thomas Dixon, John Killingbeck, William Pickering, Joseph Bawmer, and Thomas Potter, gent', the rest made default.

Att this Co^{rt} Mr. Major and Mr. Potter are appoynted to receive the Rent^e belonging to the highwayes untill further order of this Co^{rt}. p' Cur.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Co^{rt} holden by the Com'ittee appoynted by decree for the execucon of Charitable vses the nyneteenth day of Aprill in the fower and thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord Charles the second, by the grace of god over England &c. King.

Att this Co^{rt} did appeare Marmaduke Hick, major, John Milner, vicar, Henry Skelton, Thomas Dixon, William Hutchinson, Samuel Sykes, William Pickering, George Banister, gent', and Gervas Nevile, Esq., the rest made default.

Att this Co^{rt} Mr. Major is desired to pay vnto Mrs. Brogdon the some of six and twenty shillings and eight pence out of the money received of the freeholders, w^{ch} is to be allowed vpon his account. p' Cur'.

Att this Co^{rt} (in pursuance of a decree made in the high and hono^{ble} Co^{rt} of Chancery) Samuel Sykes, Alderman, was duely elected one of the members of this Comittee in the roome and place of Mr. Joseph Ibbetson, who was ousted and removed from thence. p' Cur'.

Att this Co^{rt} Jarvas Nevile, Esq., Alderman Waide, Alderman Killingbeck, and Alderman Bawmer are appointed Receivers of the Rent^e given to the highwayes. p' Cur'.

Mr. Alderman Bawmer is desired to give an account of the money received for pious vses to Mr. Major and Mr. Vicar wthin one moneth. p' Cur'.

April the xjth, 1683. Whereas Mr. William Hutchinson, one of the Com'ittee for Charitable Vses, is dead, know all men that I, John Milner, now Vicar of the p'ish of Leed^e, according to the tenour and force of the decree for the said Charitable Vses, have elected and chosen Mr. Thomas Potter, now major of Leed^e, being a fitt person to fill and make vpp the number of fowerteene persons to be joyned vnto me, the said Vicar of Leedes, as Com'ittees for Charitable vses wthin the said parish.

JOHN MILNER.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Co^{rt} holden by the Com'ittee appoynted by decree for the execucon of Charitable vses the sixth day of July in the five and thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord Charles the second, by the grace of god over England &c. King.

Att this Co^{rt} did appeare John Milner, vicar, Thomas Potter, major, Godfrey Lawson, George Banister, John Killingbeck, Joseph Bawmer, gent', Jarvas Nevile, Esq', and Samuel Sykes, gent., the rest made default.

At this Co^{rt} Alderman Bawmer is desired to pay vnto Samuel Wylde the some of eight pound^e and tenn shillings being one halfe yeares salary, for repaireing the highwayes leading to the two Wyke Bridges, according to an agreement made wth the said James Wylde. p' Cur'.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Co^{rt} holden by the Com'ittee appoynted by decree for the execucon of Charitable Vses the nynth day of November in the five and thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord Charles the second, by the grace of god over England &c. King.

Att this Co^{rt} did appeare John Milner, vicar, Henry Skelton, Marmaduke Hick, Godfrey Lawson, George Banister, Martin Headley, Anthony Waide, John Killingbeck, Joseph Bawmer, gent', and Jarvas Nevile, Esq', the rest made default.

Ordered that a Com'ittee be holden on Friday the thre and twentieth day of November instant, and it is desired that Mr. Vicar by letter give notice thereof to Mrs. Leake.

Ordered that Robert Hurst give notice to the tennant^e of Langskarr and Robinson, in the March Layne, to appeare att the next Com'ittee.

Att this Co^{rt} it is ordered that Mr. James Waddington be sumoned to appeare att the next Com'ittee to be holden vpon fridday the thre and twentieth day of November instant, att one of the Clock in the afternoone, att the house of Mrs. Johnson in Leede, to satisfie and pay all such legacies and bequest^e, togeather wth all arreares, which were given to Charitable Vses by the last will and testament of Mr. John Thwaites and Mrs. Thwaites his wife, late of Gleadhow, deceased, and in default thereof this Com'ittee will take such order for recovery thereof as shalbe agreeable to law and Justice.

Alderman Bawmer is desired to pay vnto Thomas Leigh the some of Forty shillings, which is to be in full of all arrears due to the said Thomas Leigh, to the eleaventh day of November instant, for his salary for attending as Clerke to this Com'ittee, w^{ch} said some shalbe allowed to the said Mr. Bawmer vpon his account. p' Cur'.

And likewise he is desired to pay vnto Robert Hurst the some of tenn shillings in full of all arrears for his salary till Martinmas next for sumoning and attending vpon the said Com'ittee, And it is ordered by this Co^{rt} that the said Robert Hurst shall have allowed and paid him from that tyme the some of tenn shillings yearely for such his paines and attendance.

Att this Co^{rt} it is ordered that the some of thirty shillings be paid yearely unto Thomas Leigh as his salary for attending as Clerke to this Com'ittee, to witt, tenn shillings by the Com'ittee and twenty shillings by Mr. Gilberts, and the Receivor of the highway Rents for the tyme being is to pay the same, which shalbe allowed him vpon his account.

BURGUS DE LEEDES. The Co^{rt} holden by the Com'ittee appoynted by decree for the execucon of Charitable Vses the fifth day of December in the five and thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sou'aigne Lord Charles the second, by the grace of god over England, Scotland, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, & Annoq' d'ni 1683.

Att this Co^{rt} did appeare John Milner, vicar, Marmaduke Hick, Godfrey Lawson, Thomas Dixon, John Killingbeck, William Pickering, Joseph Bawmer, gent', Jarvas Nevile, Esq., Samuel Sykes, and Thomas Potter, gent', the rest made default.

Whereas Henry Druell, late of Headley Hall, in the county of Yorke, Esq', deceased, by his last will and testament, bearing date the thre and twentieth day of July in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundered sixty and thre, did give and bequeathe to the p'ish of Leedes, where he was borne, the some of one hundred pound^e, to be raised out of the Manner of Coldham, and p'served in the hand^e of the Major and Corporacon of Leedes for the tyme being, and by them putt out att the best advantage,

to the intent that by the interest and proceeds thereof some poore Childeren of the said Towne or p'ish may from tyme to tyme be as shall be thought most requisite, bound apprentice and brought vpp to such trades as they shall be capable of, as by the said will, wherevnto reference being had more att Large will appeare. Now upon full heareing and debate of the reasons and allegaçons of Mrs. Dorothy Leake, the relict of Mr. Nicholas Leake, and Daughter and Administratrix of the said Mr. Druell, during the minority of Barbara Leake and Dorothy Leake, executrices of the said Last Will of the said Mr. Druell, and vpon due examinaçon of the Account produced and given in by her of the profitts received forth and out of the said Manno^r of Coldham since the death of the said Mr. Druell, doe find that in regard of the seu'all Losses w^{ch} hath attended the estate in those yeares, there are not Assets sufficient to satisfie and make good the seu'all Legacyes cont[ained] in the said will, Therefore this Co^{rt} vpon due consideraçon had in the p'misses, doe order, And itt is hereby ordered and agreed to accept the some of seaventy pounde, to be paid by the said Mrs. Leake w^{thin} six monethes from the day of the date hereof, w^{ch} said some soe paid shall be received and intended in full discharge and payment of the said Legacy if one hundered pounde soe given and bequeathed by the said Last will and testament of the said Mr. Druell as aforesaid.

p' Cur'.

Upon hearing what could be alledged by Mr. James Blaide and Abraham Poe, this Co^{rt} doth conceive that the said James Blaide, after the decease of Grace Aveyard, late the wife of Henry Crosfield, is the next heire and hath the tenant right to the house now in the possession of John Aveyard and Widdow Longbotham as heire to John Hargrave, Vnckle to the said James Blaide.

p' Cur'.

Att this Co^{rt} it is ordered that Alderman Bawmer doe pay vnto William Smyth the some of one and thirty shillings, being the remainder of sixty and one shillings laid out and disbursed by the said William Smyth in and about the repaire of Northall Bridge and both Timble Bridges, which said some shalbe allowed to the said Mr. Bawmer vpon his account.

p' Cur'.

Att this Co^{rt} Alderman Pickering did reporte that Mr. Leonard Scure, late of Beeston, deceased, did by his last will give and bequeath tenn pounde to the poore of Beeston.

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Compiled by JESSE A. MYERS, a Member of the Society.

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